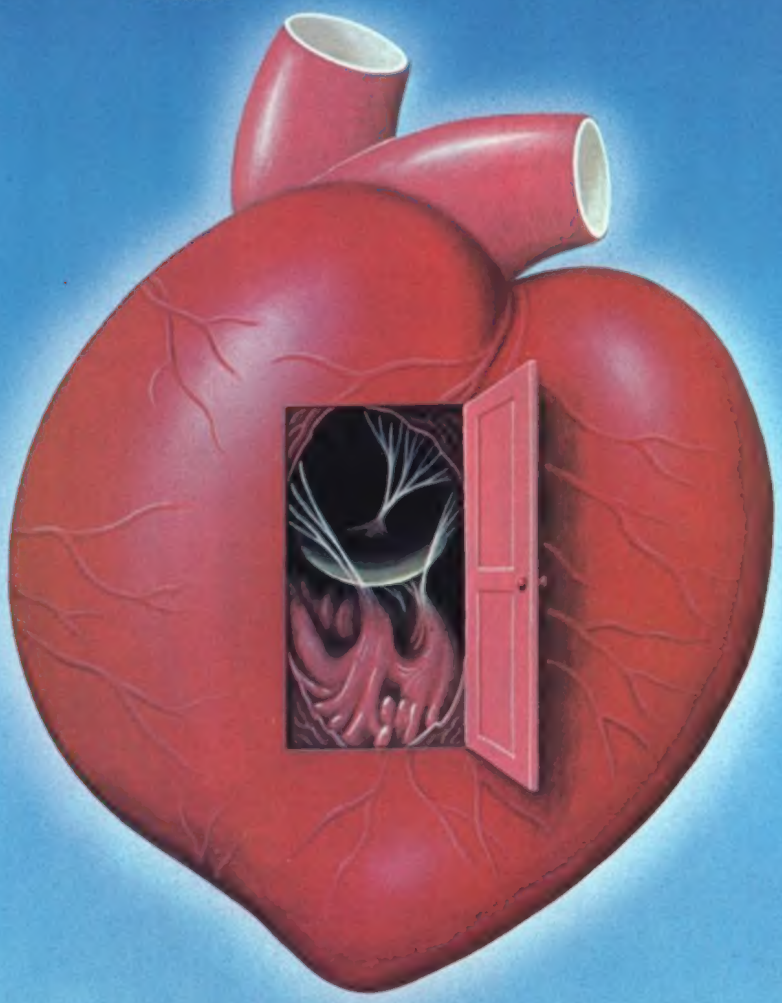
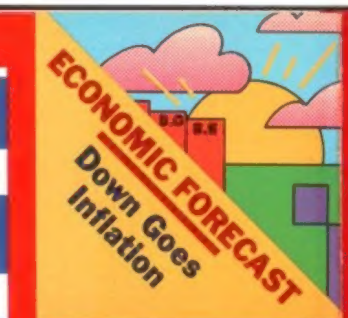
JUNE 1, 1981 $1.50

# TIME

## HEART ATTACKS

### New Insights, New Treatments



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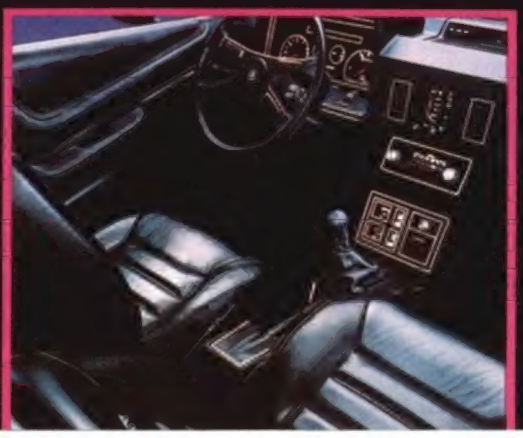

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JUNE 1, 1981 Vol. 117 No. 22

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# A Letter from the Publisher

For this week's cover story on heart disease, TIME reporters visited medical centers around the U.S. to stake out the nation's No. 1 killer. Many were soon experiencing palpitations and sweaty palms. The diagnosis: anxiety over their own heart-wrecking habits. Says Midwest Correspondent Patricia Delaney: "I felt dull chest pains when cardiologists vividly described the symptoms of a heart attack, and afterward I sadly declined wine and butter at lunch. I even got an electrocardiogram, and I began to exercise more." After visiting a hypertension clinic in Manhattan and a diagnostic center on Long Island, Correspondent Mary Cronin persuaded a reluctant relative to undergo a battery of tests. Says Cronin: "She got a clean bill of health and told me to be my own guinea pig next time." Jacqueline Schmeal interviewed surgeons at the University of Texas and Texas Heart Institute and came away marveling at their dedication. Says she: "One doctor I talked to works 18-hour days, then eats and sleeps right inside the hospital." In San Francisco, Dick Thompson watched a triple bypass operation being performed on a longshoreman. His conclusion: "In surgery, the heart seemed no more mysterious than a clock. But later, when I saw the man's family in the waiting room, I remembered that a collection of those little machines—liver, heart, brain and the rest—work together and somehow produce laughter and love. To me, that's the greatest mystery."

BURTON BERINSKY

**Cronin, Toufexis and Lincoln in New York**

As a TIME medicine writer since 1978, Anastasia Toufexis has worked on a number of heart-related stories, including the debates over coronary bypass surgery and the role of cholesterol in heart attacks. For this week's cover she went to the University of Utah to learn about the artificial heart being developed there. Says Toufexis: "Most people aren't aware of the advances that cardiovascular science has made in the past few years. If you add up all the bits and pieces, it's startling." Reporter-Researcher Melissa Ludtke Lincoln probably spoke for most TIME readers when she observed: "The breakthroughs cannot come fast enough. As possible future heart patients, we need all the help we can get."

John a. Meyer

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CHC/1

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CHC/4

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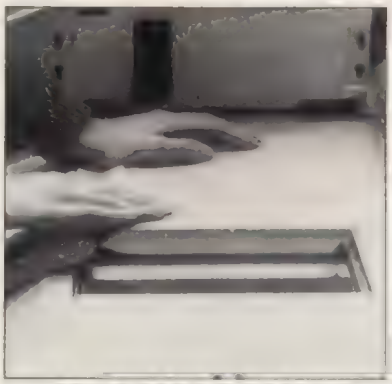

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# Something To Think About.

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After two years of intensive training, he was able to pedal with enough strength to keep the plane aloft. But against the Channel's unpredictable wind currents, sheer willpower would often be the only thing between him and disaster.

The flight took longer than expected. Yet even with cramps in both his legs and a severe case of exhaustion, he never gave in. And when he finally touched down on French soil, he'd not only won his own personal victory, but he'd paved the way for future experiments in manpowered flight.

Bryan Allen's accomplishment illustrates our belief that America gains most when individuals have great freedom to pursue personal goals without undue government interference. And although few of us would care to try what Bryan did, we nonetheless expect to pursue our own goals with equal freedom.

There are times, however, when neither you nor we can expect such freedom in our daily lives. Not when someone decides the government should protect us from it.

Something to think about from the people at Getty.

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# Letters

## Mighty Martin

*To the Editors:*

It's incredible that baseball's Wild Bill Martin of the Oakland A's [May 11] keeps winning. It is even more astounding that he is everyone's hero. The only explanation for this pale wrinkled fighter having so many fans is that he has managed almost every team in the league. He captured me when he gave new birth to my Minnesota Twins.

*(The Rev.) Don E. Hutchings*
*Russellville, Ark.*

It is true that Billy Martin has proved to be one of the best managers in baseball by producing winners in Minnesota, Detroit, Texas, New York and now Oakland. However, the supreme test of his managerial mettle still lies ahead of him: the challenge of making a winner of the Chicago Cubs.

*James Fredian*
*Arlington Heights, Ill.*

Arrogant, aggressive and always amusing, the A's approach adversary after adversary with assurance. Will they annihilate their antagonists? Will they achieve their aspirations? Are the A's authentic? Absolutely!

*Robert Rotsch*
*Staunton, Ill.*

With so many people participating in active sports, like running, rather than being mere spectators, the only thing incredible about baseball is that anybody is still interested.

*Jerry Kassanchuk*
*Golden Valley, Minn.*

You honor Billy Martin, who encourages brawls on the field and participates in them when as a leader he should be stopping them, the man who ambles through life with the finesse of a bull looking for the nearest red cape.

Many of us were brought up to believe that fair play, respect for authority and self-discipline are manly virtues. With his behavior, Billy Martin instills the exact opposite in this traditional American sport.

*Paul J. Kemmy*
*Minnetonka, Minn.*

You referred to Lance Parrish as the third baseman for the Montreal Expos. Lance is a catcher for the Detroit Tigers. Larry, of course, is the real third baseman for the Expos.

*Pierre Laxa*
*Orchard Lake, Mich.*

### Lament for Lebanon

Your story about the discord in Lebanon [May 11] fails to emphasize one basic fact: the conflict is primarily over Lebanon's sovereignty. It is not a "civil war" between Lebanese Christians and Muslims. The P.L.O. has usurped power in order to have a base for attacking Israel. The Syrians have set up their defenses in our country to prevent a linkup between the Lebanese Christians. The Syrians act as if it were a crime for our people to try to remove the Syrian-Palestinian wedge separating the country.

*Adonis El-Arz, Director*
*News and Information*
*Canadian Lebanese Association*
*Mississauga, Ont.*

The war is not between Muslims and Christians. It is between a Christian group, the Phalangists, on one side and other factions that include Christians and Muslims. The non-Lebanese who are fueling the war are the Israelis. Why are the Palestinians in Lebanon? Is it not because they were expelled from their homeland by Israel's military aggression?

*Ahmad Katnani*
*Madison, Wis.*

I am Lebanese and Christian. I hurt when I read of the dreadful events in the home of my ancestors. I feel an obligation to Lebanon, but attempting to choose a side whose ideals are worth supporting is impossible. Will there be a Lebanon when this is over?

*Richard Neju Aswad II*
*Binghamton, N.Y.*

### Joy of Working

It's nice that Lance Morrow can wax poetic about work [May 11]. He says workers are like "citizens" of their companies, almost. Citizens, however, participate in making decisions. We don't want paternal warmth; we want to exercise control over our lives. You have only to tour a Chinatown sweatshop or a coal mine to know why.

*Leah Beth Ward*
*East Providence, R.I.*

I have been working for 50 years, and am still at it. Most of the time, I loved what I was doing but hated having to do it. Since I spent most of the proceeds on having fun, I can say that I am, on balance, content.

*Ransom Taylor*
*Milwaukee*

In the opening of the Essay, you blame the Creator for something that, in the light of Judaeo-Christian Scriptures, is our fault, not his. According to the first chapter of *Genesis*, God established work as a blessed part of human life. It is only in the third chapter, after the "fall into sin and rebellion," that work now becomes toil. Work was not the Creator's punishment, toil was. In addition, the frustration that comes from meaningless work was not part of God's original plan.

*(The Rev.) Ray R. Kringel*
*Santa Maria, Calif.*

### Billie Jean

Billie Jean King is Billie Jean King [May 11]—a superstar. Why should it even matter where she hangs her racquet!

*Judith Knecht*
*Ridgewood, N.Y.*

The night Billie Jean King walloped Bobby Riggs I became her fan for life. I can see no reason to change now.

*Margaret J. Buchholzer*
*Albuquerque*

Whether or not King has contributed much to the game of tennis is a moot point. To preserve the integrity of women's tennis, King should promptly resign or be fired as the president of the Women's Tennis Association.

*Berman E. Deffenbaugh Jr., President*
*Robert E. Lee Tennis Hackers*
*San Antonio*

Why all the racket about Billie Jean King? Amid the hype that superstardom creates and the pedestal the public puts celebrities on, stands a woman who admits to being human.

*Marjorie Harwood*
*Detroit*

The support for Billie Jean King shocks me. I guess public opinion rules, and not what is moral and just.

*Sastry Kodavatiganti*
*Wheeling, Ill.*

### Terrorists and Martyrdom

Terrorists don't usually care how they die, just as long as they are able to get a good headline. Bobby Sands [May 18] knew and hoped that his death would inspire violence among his own people. He's no martyr.

*Dan Chang*
*Seattle*

Margaret Thatcher believes that crime is crime is crime. The Irish believe that Ireland is Ireland is Ireland. The fact

# "One weekend, while visiting his father, the boy was told he wasn't going home anymore. James was a hostage."

*Child Snatching: The Cruelest Crime, —Ladies' Home Journal. April, 1981.*

# As a direct result of this article, James was found and reunited with his mother just 12 days after the story was published.

A women's service magazine making front page news?

Yes. It's Ladies' Home Journal.

We ran a powerful story on child snatching by divorced or separated parents. One of the photos hit home with a reader who had the power to help Mrs. Kennedy find the son who'd been illegally taken by his father over two years before.

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In 1921, insulin was discovered.

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Insulin can keep a diabetic alive, but it can't always prevent the complications caused by diabetes.

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That's why diabetes has become the third largest cause of death. Killing an estimated 300,000 people a year.

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**INSULIN IS NOT A CURE. HELP US FIND ONE.**

Juvenile diabetes is insulin-dependent diabetes, the most severe form of the disease.


## Letters

is the British have no more legitimate claim to Northern Ireland than they do to North Dakota, North Carolina or North America.

*R. Michael Regan*
*North Mankato, Minn.*

Sands was a victim of terrorism. But is terrorism the only means to achieve the goal? Assuming that Ireland is one day united, will the killing stop? I think not. The diseased terrorist will find other reasons to kill and maim. The sickness will continue to exist and spread as it is doing almost daily.

*Ron Gray*
*Garland, Texas*

The misty-eyed American politicians of Irish extraction who have deplored Britain's steadfast condemnation of Sands should take the time to listen to Mrs. Thatcher. She denounces all organizations in Northern Ireland, and anywhere else in the world, which try to impose their will through terrorism.

While going about their business, innocent Englishmen and Irishmen have been killed and disfigured by terrorists.

*Alfred K. Stone*
*London*

No one forced Bobby Sands to fast to death. It was his own choice. Before long, murderers and rapists will be declaring themselves a special class of prisoners, and will be demanding concessions. They are all criminals, and as such should be punished.

*Jacqueline Thompson*
*Nottingham, England*

### Southward Ho!

As a member of that rare breed, the native Texan, I have watched with much horror the Yankee reinvasion of the state [May 11], particularly in Dallas and Houston. Our streets are becoming congested and our resources scarce. The Northerners are trying to destroy our cities, as they have their own. We will fight to keep the unions out of here and to prevent Texas from becoming a socialistic welfare state.

*Sydney Busch*
*Dallas*

It's too bad that some Michiganders are giving up and returning to Michigan after trying to find a better life only in Houston. Don't they realize that there are plenty of other thriving Sunbelt cities to choose from? The Horkenbachs aren't the only people who don't care for Houston; many Texans would never want to live there either.

*Dave Gantt*
*Bryan, Texas*

**Address Letters to TIME,** Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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with Charlayne Hunter-Gault

EXXON

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TIME/JUNE 1, 1981

# It's Rightward On

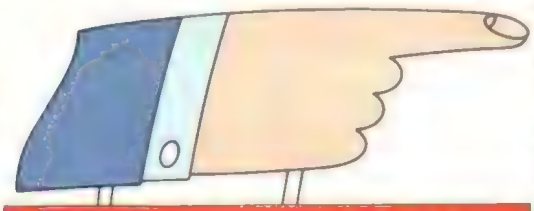
## *A* TIME *poll confirms a conservative swing—with some big qualifications*

A new American consensus is in the making. And, yes, it is conservative, as everyone has long suspected. But it is not the lockstep ideology of the Moral Majority and other far-right zealots, and in many details the consensus differs from the social vision of Ronald Reagan, a President whose popularity rating seems to be on the rise. By and large, the American people are indeed fed up with what they see as an invasion by government and the courts into their private lives. They are worried about the moral standards of the television programs seen by their children. But at the same time, a majority of the U.S. public favors the Equal Rights Amendment, opposes making abortions illegal and is strongly in favor of gun control. Perhaps most important, there is a fresh sense of optimism about the way things are going in the country.

These are among the findings of a major national opinion survey conducted for TIME by the research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., from May 12 through May 14.* The poll contained pleasant news for Reagan. His rating "as a leader you can trust" is virtually the same as Jimmy Carter's was at the same month of 1977. One key difference is that Reagan's level of approval has risen 9% since January (to 57%), while Carter's rating was on a downward slide. Majorities ranging from 71% to 52% agreed with the propositions that Reagan had lived up to his campaign promises in six key areas: working effectively with Congress, providing strong leadership in government, providing moral leadership, keeping U.S. defenses strong, getting rid of waste in government and making Americans feel good again.

Reagan is also given high marks on his handling of foreign affairs with 76% expressing some degree of confidence in him. Nonetheless a near majority opposes his decision to send military advisers to El Salvador (47% to 35%). The public favors reopening strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union (65% to 25%) and clings to a sort of Carter-era policy on human rights by opposing (67% to 23%) economic and military aid for anti-Communist allies like South Korea if they violate human rights.

At least as remarkable as the level of his own popularity is the change in the national mood that has come with Reagan's early months in the White House. In the first week of January, only 26% of Americans polled by Yankelovich felt that things were going well in the country. That figure has now nearly doubled to 51%, marking the first time since October 1978 that a majority has felt so positive. There has also been a dramatic turn in expectations about inflation. In April 1979 only 9% of the country believed that inflation would be curtailed under Carter. Now, 45% say price rises will be controlled.



**CONSERVATISM**

| *Do you feel that:* | Agree | Disagree |
|---|---|---|
| The government should stop regulating business and protecting the consumer | 62% | 32% |
| The government has become far too involved in areas of people's lives | 70% | 26% |
| We must build up our military strength so that we are clearly No. 1 | 73% | 22% |
| The Supreme Court and Congress have gone too far in keeping religious and moral values out of our lives | 71% | 26% |
| The media reflect a permissive and immoral set of values | 60% | 37% |

While 82% of the voters expressed varying degrees of confidence in Reagan's handling of the economy, there is no great support for his proposed three-year tax cut scheme. Only 32% of those questioned favored that proposal, while 36% wanted no more than a one-year tax reduction and 22% disapproved of any tax cut at this time. There is also widespread skepticism about the equity of Reagan's budget cuts: 71% believe that some people—primarily the poor and the elderly—will be hurt more than others.

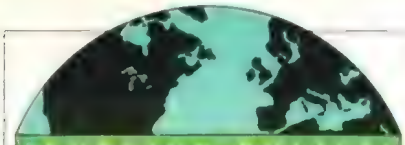
One major goal of the Yankelovich poll was to document the common perception, predating Reagan's election, that the U.S. has experienced a shift in its political center of gravity toward conservatism. To measure that shift, the Yankelovich organization asked voters a series of questions about their political attitudes. They were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with five statements distilled from the positions of New Right leaders and organizations. The poll found widespread agreement with each statement. There was 73% approval of the idea that "we must build up our military strength so that we are clearly No. 1 and use this strength whenever necessary for our national interests, even if other nations complain." Nearly the same number (71%) agreed that "the Supreme Court and Congress have gone too far in keeping religious and moral values like prayer out of our laws, our schools and our lives." There was 70% agreement that "the government has become far too involved in areas of people's lives like the family, the schools, birth control and what is taught to our children." And 62% endorsed the notion that "government should stop regulating business and protecting the consumer and let the free-enterprise system work." Finally, 60% agreed that "television and other media in this country reflect a permissive and immoral set of values which are bad for the country."

By themselves these figures do not prove a conservative shift, since even 28% of those who described themselves as liberals agreed with most of the five propositions. But the Yankelovich organization repeated a set of questions first asked

*The telephone survey polled 1,221 registered voters. The sampling error in a poll of this size is plus or minus 3.5%. In comparing these results with previous surveys, the error factor is plus or minus 4.5%.



Time Charts by Nigel Holmes



| How do you feel about: | Favor | Oppose |
|---|---|---|
| Reopening SALT talks | 65% | 25% |
| Keeping military advisers in El Salvador | 35% | 47% |
| Giving economic and military support to anti-Communist allies even if they violate human rights | 23% | 67% |

in a 1974 poll for TIME that were designed to measure discontent and resentment about change in American life. These comparisons confirm a swing to the right.

Between 1974 and the present survey, there was a ten-point increase (to 48%) in agreement that "there is too much concern with equality and too little with law-and-order." Asked again whether "there is more concern today for the welfare recipient who doesn't want to work than for the hard-working person who is struggling to make a living," 64% agreed, compared with 53% in 1974. There was also a measurable increase in the percentage of people who agreed that "belonging to an organized religion is important in a person's life," that the government "should crack down more on pornography in movies, books and nightclubs," and that "people in authority should be shown more respect than they receive these days."

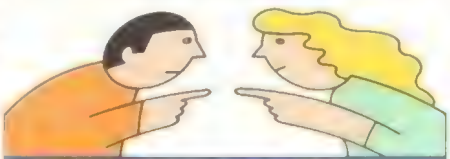
The Yankelovich organization also repeated a set of questions from 1974 about the social outlook of Americans. In some instances the present survey showed that the public is still unhappy about the course on which the nation appears to be heading. Asked to comment on the statement that "people who work hard and live by the rules are not getting a fair break these days," 44% agreed in 1974. Now that figure has increased to 53%. There is also a growing sense that the country has become too narcissistic and unconcerned about the common welfare. In 1974, 46% of those polled agreed with the statement that "people have become too selfish and self-centered and have put their own pleasure ahead of the larger interests of their families and their country." Today 51% agree. In 1974 slightly more than a third of those polled said they agreed that "people like yourself are powerless to change things in the country." That figure has increased marginally to 36% today, despite the approval of the Reagan presidency.

On the other hand, the early record of the new Administration may be responsible for a decline in the number of people who feel that "things are really out of control in the country; you don't see any real solutions." In 1974 a quarter of the people agreed with that gloomy statement. Now, however, only 20% endorse it. Similarly, nearly a third (32%) of the nation felt in 1974 that "the country is changing too fast." But in the current survey, that figure dropped to 23%.

Opinions may have turned conservative, but not the perceptions that people have about where they stand in the political spectrum. In the 1974 Yankelovich poll for TIME, 41% called themselves conservative, 42% said they were "moderates," and 16% termed themselves "liberal or radical." The current numbers are virtually unchanged: 42% conservative, 42% moderate and 14% liberal or radical. What seems to best characterize this new conservatism of the public at large is a general distaste for governmental interference rather than any conformity to the causes of the New Right.

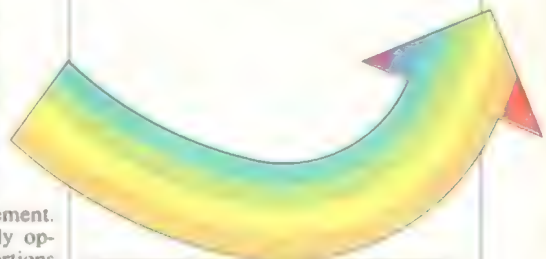
For example, reaction to the Moral Majority, the New Right organization led by Television Preacher Jerry Falwell, was heavily negative. Sixty-two percent of those polled said they had heard of the organization. But of those, 60% said they had a mostly unfavorable impression of it, and only 24% said they thought favorably of the movement. A solid majority (56%) also firmly opposes federal action to make abortions illegal, one of the causes that the New Right puts at the top of its list of social priorities. In addition, 68% of those polled believe that it is up to the individual woman to decide at what stage in the pregnancy human life begins and when abortion should or should not be permitted. There is also strong support (61%) for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which the New Right is outspokenly against. Similarly 70% approve of sex education in public schools, including information about birth control, which New Right leaders oppose. But the New Right is in line with public opinion on a constitutional amendment permitting school prayer; 74% of those surveyed are in favor of it.

On two social issues the public favors strong governmental action; both concern the spread of violent crime. Mandatory registration of handguns is firmly favored by 60% (only 37% are opposed)—a stand that once again disagrees with the position of the New Right. Some 73% approve the wider use of the death penalty for such crimes as hijacking or killing a police officer.



| SOCIAL ISSUES | | |
|---|---|---|
| How do you feel about | Favor | Oppose |
| Making abortions illegal | 35% | 56% |
| Mandatory registration of handguns | 60% | 37% |
| Wider use of death penalty | 73% | 23% |
| Passage of ERA | 61% | 30% |
| Sex education in classrooms | 70% | 25% |

One substantial political effect of the conservative mood—and of Reagan's growing popularity—is a more positive attitude toward the Republican Party. Democrats continue to outnumber Republicans in party registration by a 2-to-1 margin, and large numbers of voters say that party label makes no difference in political competence. Nonetheless, Yankelovich found, Republicans are judged as capable of doing a better job on inflation, energy problems, foreign affairs and leadership. That is a reversal of public perceptions since a 1975 Yankelovich poll. Republicans are also favored in "making sure the country is able to defend itself" (51% to 14%). Democrats, however, still get more credit than Republicans for being fairer to the middle class, helping the needy and the poor, and making sure that children get a better education.



| CONFIDENCE | Jan. '81 | May '81 |
|---|---|---|
| Percent who feel things are going well in the country | 26% | 51% |
| Percent who feel Reagan is a leader you can trust | 48% | 57% |

Understandably, considering the brief tenure of Reagan's Administration, his team has not made much of an impression on the American people. Most of those polled had no definite opinion on the Cabinet and White House staff, but among those who did recognize the Administration's top figures, the opinion was generally favorable. Only Secretary of State Alexander Haig has achieved widespread public recognition, and he is clearly a controversial figure: 46% felt he was a good choice for the job, but 45% felt he was not.

At this point in his Administration, Ronald Reagan has substantial personal popularity. It is clear from the Yankelovich poll that his political strength is related to a central promise of his campaign—namely, to reduce the meddling of federal bureaucracies. But it also seems clear that this strength could be dissipated should the Reagan Administration try to adopt policies and positions of the New Right that are out of step with public feelings. —*By John F. Stacks*

As guest and host look on, right, a military guard presents the colors at welcoming ceremony on South Lawn of the White House

# Mr. Schmidt Goes to Washington

*To get acquainted with Reagan and help himself back home*

One thing that Ronald Reagan has restored to the White House is a sense of pomp and ceremony. On a balmy spring day last week, hundreds of Executive Office workers turned out to watch as the President greeted West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in grand style. There were ruffles and flourishes when Reagan and Nancy strode out of the White House to greet the Chancellor's limousine at the diplomatic entrance. While guns boomed out a 19-gun salute, a Marine band played the German national anthem and then the *Star-Spangled Banner*. There was a flashy presentation of colors by an honor guard, and a bewigged fife and drum corps, wearing colonial dress, marched by.

It was a warm welcome for a troubled friend. In the past few years, countless U.S. diplomats and politicians have flown to Bonn in search of West German support for everything from shoring up the dollar to bolstering NATO's defenses. This time, it was Schmidt who needed a little propping up. His popularity in the polls is down, the West German economy is sputtering, and the defeat of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing deprived Schmidt of his closest European ally. In short, the Chancellor could use some signals of support from Reagan, and the White House knew it. As a senior State Department official put it: "We need to meet him halfway."

Reagan did that and more. In their opening remarks on the White House lawn, both host and guest took care to strike as harmonious a note as possible. A common theme of their addresses was wariness toward the Soviet Union. Reminding listeners that 1981 marks the 20th anniversary of the building of the Berlin Wall, Reagan observed: "On one side of the wall, people live in dignity and democracy; on the other side, in domination and defeat." Schmidt somberly noted that his visit was taking place against the background of a "serious international situation." He referred specifically to "the excessive Soviet arms buildup and the challenge of the continuing Soviet intervention in Afghanistan."

In the meetings that followed during the next two days, Schmidt was his usual bristly, outspoken self. One of his primary concerns was what he perceives as the Administration's strident saber-rattling against the Soviet Union. The Chancellor has become increasingly critical of Soviet expansionism in the past year. At the same time he fears that the U.S. is not trying hard enough to open a dialogue with the Soviets and thus defuse East-West tensions. "Schmidt wants to be assured that our policy toward the Soviet Union is more than one of simple hostility," said a senior U.S. diplomat.

East-West relations were discussed at length by the two leaders. They conferred twice in the Oval Office, with each meeting lasting about an hour. Top aides for both men were present, and Schmidt did most of the talking. (He brought an interpreter, but his English is almost flawless.) Reagan once again assured Schmidt that the U.S. intends to live up to the 1979 NATO agreement that calls for stationing 572 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe on condition that the U.S. and Soviets begin talks about a mutual, balanced reduction of the number of missiles on the Continent.

The President also reiterated a pledge, made by Secretary of State Alexander Haig at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Rome last month, that negotiations would start before the end of the year. Though Schmidt prefers that the talks begin in early autumn, he did not expect Reagan to move up the timetable and thus had to be satisfied with the President's assurances.

Schmidt also complained about the impact of U.S. economic policies on Western Europe. He contended that America is fostering unreasonably high interest rates, which in turn inflate the value of the dollar abroad and raise the price of German imports, most notably oil. Over the past two years, Germany's balance of payments deficit ballooned from 9.6 billion deutsche marks in 1979 to 29 billion in 1980. The President told Schmidt that he expected interest rates to drop dramatically in the U.S. once his economic program was in effect.

The talks covered a wide array of subjects, ranging from Poland to the Middle East to the Third World. Still stung by Giscard's defeat, Schmidt predicted that incoming President François Mitterrand's economic program would quickly pose problems for France. Yet Schmidt also stressed that the new French leader should be welcomed into the Western alliance, and he offered to stop in Paris on his way home to deliver greetings from Reagan to Mitterrand. The offer was quickly accepted.

Schmidt became quite irritated at one point, when the subject of growing pacifism in Western Europe was brought up. The U.S. was no stranger to similar sentiments in the past, he pointed out forcefully, but Europe had not wavered in its allegiance to the alliance. Schmidt reminded Reagan that the U.S., unlike West Germany, no longer had a draft, and therefore was less susceptible to the youthful protests that have bedeviled Bonn.

True to their style, the Reagans were hosts at a lavish state dinner in honor of Schmidt and his wife Hannelore. Among the 102 guests: Arthur F. Burns, 77, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who was chosen by Reagan last week to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to West Germany. In his reply to Reagan's toast, Schmidt was almost embarrassingly extravagant in praising his host, referring several times to the "confidence" and

"self-assuredness" generated by Reagan's inspirational leadership.

The talks produced no significant policy decisions, but both Washington and Bonn considered the first official meetings between the two leaders a success. Hoping to avoid the frosty relationship that existed between himself and Jimmy Carter, Schmidt wanted to strike a good initial rapport with Reagan—and the President obviously wanted to oblige. By all accounts, the two got along well. Said one Administration official: "There must be no surprises between us. Schmidt wants to go back and tell his people the President promised him there would be no Carteresque zigzags."

It is, of course, much in Reagan's interest to foster a good working relationship with Schmidt. West Germany possesses the largest conventional forces in Western Europe and is the centerpiece of the Continent's defenses. Schmidt's importance to the U.S. as an ally has been enhanced by the victory of Mitterrand —still very much an unknown quantity to the Administration—and the increasing political woes of Britain's Margaret Thatcher. Finally, despite Schmidt's protestations, many in the Administration believe that a growing wave of pacifism is sweeping across Western Europe. They consider Schmidt one of the strongest voices speaking out against the threats of Soviet adventurism.

His welcome in Washington may help a bit, but the Chancellor remains very much the beleaguered leader at home. The West German economy, though still the hardiest in Europe, is showing signs of sluggishness, and the nation is expected to experience a negative growth rate in 1981. Unemployment has climbed from 825,000 to 1.1 million persons over the past year, and inflation persists at 6% —low by most Western standards but high by Bonn's. The Chancellor's approval rating in polls has dropped from 62% last year to 41.5% this year—lower than the rating accorded to Willy Brandt before he quit in 1974.

But Schmidt's greatest worry rests in holding together his own government. He faces growing criticism from leftist members of his Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.) for supporting the NATO decision to place nuclear warheads in West Germany.

At a state party convention in Bavaria last week, Schmidt warned that unless the internal bickering stops, the strongly pro-NATO Free Democrats might bolt the governing coalition and join the opposition Christian Democrats, thus toppling Schmidt's government. Though the convention voted overwhelmingly to endorse Schmidt's stand on the missiles, the issue will continue to divide the party and threaten the Chancellor's ruling coalition for months to come. *By James Kelly. Reported by Roland Flamini and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

# Instruments of Power at Sea

That remarkable American product, the aircraft carrier, is uniquely the instrument of Presidents. It is the hunkered-down warning of great power that can come alive instantly, as it did in 1972 in the mining of Haiphong harbor in Viet Nam. It can also serve as a floating fragment of American hospitality, as it did when the *Kitty Hawk* in 1979 helped rescue the displaced and frightened boat people of Viet Nam from their desperation in the South China Sea.

Anyone who has watched night operations from the bridge of the *Enterprise* or the *Nimitz* can claim to have witnessed the most dramatic spectacle of men and machines short of actual war. It is no wonder that a pivotal point in the new defense planning concerns aircraft carriers and the related idea of recommissioned battleships turned into platforms for cruise missiles.

Reagan's Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman, 38, has felt the exhilaration of being catapulted off flight decks a hundred times as an A-6 jet bombardier-navigator in the Naval Reserve. He is a carrier man, arguing that the U.S. needs to go from twelve to 15 carrier-centered task forces to gain true "war fighting" capability. The numbers will be argued, but they are less important than the concept, which lies at the heart of the Reagan security doctrine.

Not since the advent of missiles has there been so much rethinking of how to prevent war by being prepared to fight it better. From the purpose of weapons to how to retain trained personnel, old theories are being ripped open and debated. Colorado Democrat Gary Hart belongs to a new cadre of efficiency-minded defense experts in the Senate, along with Georgia's Sam Nunn and Bill Cohen of Maine. Hart wants Lehman to think more of smaller, lighter submarines and smaller aircraft carriers for more flexibility and adaptability. Lehman works in a three-dimensional world where time, cost and efficiency so far dictate that big carriers and newly armed battleships (plus current submarines and other surface ships) imaginatively employed can make the Soviet Union a world island. But Lehman likes Hart and listens to his ideas.

**U.S.S. *Nimitz* on maneuvers: dramatic spectacle**

The old notion that every time we needed to show our muscle we threw big budget figures at potential adversaries seems to be waning at last. True, the new national security will cost more. But even the conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation, has called for caution in defense spending, more thought and imagination, fewer wasted dollars.

Some of the modern ferment comes from a retired fighter pilot named John Boyd, a tactical analyst who has lingered at the Pentagon for years studying the theory of war back to China's Sun Zi (Sun Tzu) around 400 B.C. Boyd's four-hour lecture has been given dozens of times to the top military and civilian officials at the Defense Department. Boyd's message, in essence, is that successful warfare is primarily psychological, not physical; the use of maneuver, surprise, deception and speed to find an enemy's weaknesses (not fight his strengths in big battles) is the way of the future. Boyd does not translate his strategic philosophy into hardware and tactics. Others, like Lehman and Chief of Naval Operations Thomas Hayward, are doing that.

So far, not a single new dollar has been appropriated for defense or a single new carrier's keel laid. But already, some Pentagon officials believe, there is new respect abroad for American determination and its power. Experienced warriors believe that when you begin to be serious about power, pretty soon the world begins to believe you.

The *Independence* and *Forrestal* hovered last week in the eastern Mediterranean. The carriers were there on Ronald Reagan's orders. They were his emissaries, signaling a nation's resolve by presence and movement. What we do about carrier task forces in the next years will tell much about the U.S. and its exercise of power.

# A Less Than Perfect "10-10-10"

*Congress and the White House try to forge a tax compromise*

On one side was President Reagan, eager to hold to his campaign pledge to cut personal income taxes across the board by 10% in each of the next three years, the so-called "10-10-10" proposal. On the other was House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski and his fellow congressional Democrats, who favor a smaller tax cut offered for one year at a time. Like proud and coquettish students at a prom, each has been eyeing the other, hoping for an invitation to dance. Last week, with congressional Republicans acting as chaperons, they began edging toward one another in a series of private meetings—at the White House, the Treasury Department, in a Capitol hideaway—that laid the groundwork for a possible compromise tax bill.

Reagan came to the cotillion with an aura of invincibility from his decisive, and uncompromising, victory in paring $36 billion from the fiscal 1982 budget, which was formally approved by Congress last week. His extensive three-year tax cut program, however, enjoys far less support both in Congress and throughout the country, mainly because it threatens further to bloat the federal debt and aggravate inflation. As if to dramatize such fears, the nation's leading banks last week raised their prime lending rate to 20.5%, up 3½ percentage points in one month. Moreover, last week's report that the gross national product had surged 8.4% in the first quarter seemed to weaken the case for the economic stimulus that the Administration argues a tax cut would bring.

The Administration has somewhat slowed the momentum of its budget victory by pushing a hastily conceived plan to bolster the troubled Social Security system by trimming benefits—especially for those who retire at age 62. The Senate last week issued Reagan a stinging rebuke by passing, on a 96-to-0 vote, a "sense of Congress" resolution opposing any "precipitous and unfair" reductions in benefits for early retirees and any package of cuts that is more severe than necessary to keep the system solvent in the short run. Congressman Claude Pepper of Florida, chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, told Health and Human Services Secretary Richard Schweiker, "You have chosen a solution that violates the sacred word of our President and our Government and our Congress to the people." The White House backtracked quickly, releasing a letter from Reagan assuring congressional leaders that "this Administration is not wedded to any single solution." Reagan called for a bipartisan effort to find a way to save the system.

Reagan has been much less willing to back off from his "10-10-10" tax cut plan. First proposed by Congressman Jack Kemp of New York and Senator William Roth of Delaware, that scheme would reduce taxes by 30% over three years. Says one top White House aide: "I can't stress enough that the President is adamant in his belief that he was elected on the basis of a certain program. If he has to, he will make a fight out of it. He will go to the country." Still, most White House aides, including Chief of Staff James Baker, feel that winning "10-10-10" would be extremely tough, and acknowledge that politics is the art of the possible. They hope that Rostenkowski will produce a plan close enough to what the White House wants so that everyone can declare victory and avoid a battle that could damage both sides.

The Illinois Democrat, however, has been slow to accept the invitation to dance, particularly if he has to take the lead. He has had trouble forging a consensus among divided Democrats, who are reluctant to support higher deficits or place their faith in the Reaganites' theory of supply-side economics. Should no compromise be reached, the Democrats could simply allow a straight up-or-down vote on Kemp-Roth, a roll call that the Administration would probably lose. Speaker Tip O'Neill and other liberal Democrats said that putting the Republicans on the spot with Kemp-Roth might be better than talking compromise. But Rostenkowski was well aware of the President's popularity and the possibility that some conservative Democrats might break party ranks. He and Majority Leader Jim Wright of Texas felt there was little to be gained by a bitter congressional struggle over Kemp-Roth and that even a victory might come back to haunt them in 1982, when voters decide how to assess credit and blame for the economic situation. The stakes were high, and each side knew that a short-term victory could turn out to be a defeat in the long run.

Last Monday, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, began to play matchmaker. He invited the three other top congressional tax writers—Rostenkowski, Senate Finance Committee Ranking Democrat Russell Long of Louisiana and House Ways and Means Committee Ranking Republican Barber Conable of New York—to an intimate luncheon in an ornate hideaway office next to the Senate chamber long favored for bourbon and branch-water sessions. Democrats and Republicans often meet to iron out differences in legislation already passed. Rarely, however, do they assemble to work out joint legislation in advance of any vote, as they did last week.

Over broiled steak for three, and a hamburger for Dole, the quartet got down to business. Dole ran down the items that must be decided: size of the overall revenue cut, number of years over which the cuts should be spread, proposals for more rapid depreciation of plant and equipment for business, reduction of the "marriage penalty" against working couples. Long, a master of backroom consensus on tax bills, noted that there was already a general agreement on many of these items in the Senate committee. "Bob Dole and I are on the same track," he said to the House pair. Then he turned to Dole and said: "You and Danny ought to get together." Conable, too, has dreamed of a Dole-Rostenkowski tax bill to resolve

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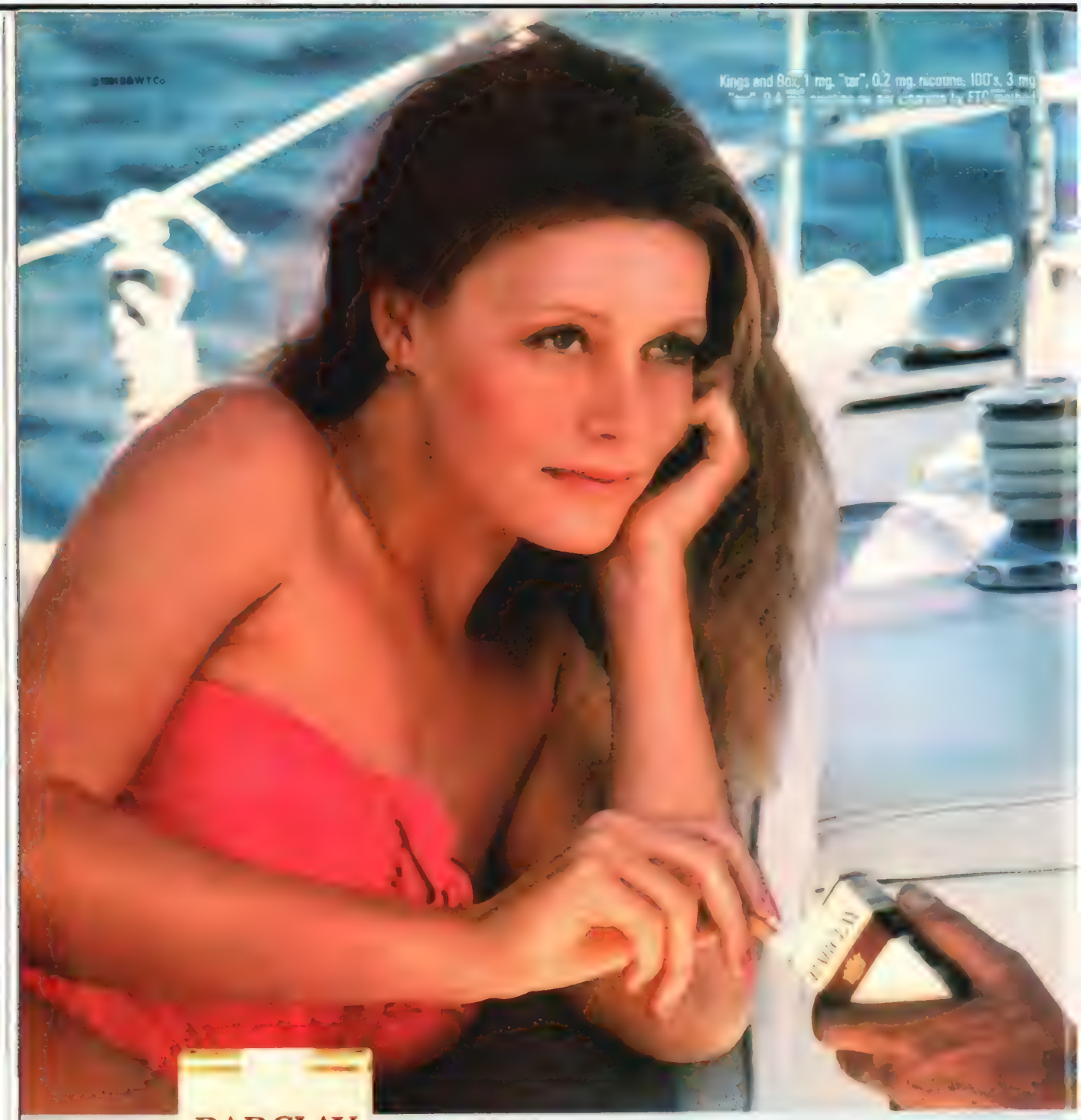

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the heated issue in a bipartisan manner. Said he to Rostenkowski: "The ball is in your court." Rostenkowski smiled and said: "I have to talk to Jim Wright." Dole picked up the $20 tab. Next time, he said, it would be the Democratic chairman's turn to play host.

The White House, meanwhile, was pursuing another approach, one that had been successful in the budget battle. On Wednesday, Baker and Treasury Secretary Donald Regan held a well-publicized meeting with four members of the Conservative Democratic Forum, also known as the Boll Weevils because it comprises mainly Southern Democrats. This group had undercut Democratic Budget Committee Chairman Jim Jones by supporting the President's spending cuts. The Administration hoped that their visit might at least lead Rostenkowski to suspect that he too might be sandbagged.

But the Boll Weevils refused to make any commitments. They told Baker and Regan that there was no consensus among Democratic conservatives and that they were hoping to support any compromise their party leadership could devise. So the Administration used Boll Weevil leaders to relay to Rostenkowski a "shopping list" of negotiable items. Among possible concessions: the first year cut could be reduced to 5% and delayed until October. Regan called Conable to say the meeting seemed a success. He had high hopes for the four Democrats. Said he: "They'll go for '5-10-10' and a couple of other little things."

Rostenkowski was also pleased, both by the expressions of loyalty from his party conservatives and by the negotiating points they relayed. He met Thursday morning with Secretary Regan to begin the complex task of discussing details. Meanwhile, Majority Leader Wright had lunch with Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese at the White House and also talked to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker and Republican Paul Laxalt of Nevada.

By the end of the week, a consensus was beginning to form around a multiyear reduction in personal income taxes, perhaps even as sweeping as the "5-10-10" proposal Secretary Regan was pushing. Any deal would probably also include changes in the inheritance tax to benefit farmers, faster depreciation write-offs for business, reduction of the maximum tax on unearned income from 70% to 50%, and an increased exclusion for dividend and interest income. The Republicans agreed to alter the personal income tax cuts to give greater relief to middle-income Americans. Explained Wright: "The President, in order to protect his own image, has to have some kind of multiyear approach. We're going to have to yield on that. But we're going to insist on more help for the middle class. The Administration is going to have to yield some."

The emerging deal still faces many obstacles, and Dole and Rostenkowski will meet privately this week in the Capitol to tackle them. If a final bargain is reached, the Democrats will insist that Reagan give it unqualified public support before it is brought to a vote. Says Wright: "If Congress is going to give birth to his child, then Reagan must own up to its paternity." *—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Douglas Brew and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

## The Sultan of Swap

As the tax-cut drama unfolds in Congress, a pivotal role belongs to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski. It is a rich bit of casting: for the next few weeks, an old-style Chicago ward heeler will be the nation's premier economist-accountant-social philosopher.

Rostenkowski, 53, known widely as "Danny," is a member of an endangered species: a dyed-in-the-polyester Cook County pol trained by late Mayor Richard J. Daley to put party before everything. Rostenkowski learned his lesson well. He once impressed House Democrat Richard Gephardt of Missouri by following up some legislative support he had promised with a simple note: "I keep my word. Dan." Says Chicago political analyst Don Rose of Rostenkowski: "He is not an ideological politician. He is Mr. Practicality."

Discipline and loyalty have been Mr. Practicality's watchwords. Born in Chicago in 1928, he was educated at St. John's Military Academy in Delafield, Wis., served in the infantry in Korea, and was graduated from Loyola University in 1951. A promising baseball player who was once invited by Connie Mack to try out for the Philadelphia Athletics, Rostenkowski reluctantly obeyed his father, a Chicago alderman, and entered politics instead.

He became a committeeman in his father's ward (a post he still holds), caught Mayor Daley's eye and, at 24, became the youngest member of the Illinois House. At 30, he was elected to the U.S. House, where he has remained for eleven terms—although as a member of the Capitol's Tuesday-Thursday Club, he spends four days a week on average back home.* His wife and four children have not moved to Washington, and he estimates he has spent only nine weekends there.

Ward Heeler turned Tax Expert Dan Rostenkowski

Not much inclined to author legislation, Rostenkowski over the years has built a reputation on the Hill as likable, earnest, cautious and absolutely trustworthy. Among the show horses of Congress, he is a workhorse. Rostenkowski was close to his goal of becoming Speaker when the 1968 Democratic Convention intervened. Lyndon Johnson, watching the convention slide into disarray as violence escalated in Chicago's streets, phoned Rostenkowski from Texas and told him to take charge. Rostenkowski did, but only after snatching the gavel away from embarrassed Majority Leader Carl Albert. Two years later, Albert, then Speaker, vetoed Rostenkowski's nomination as majority whip. Rostenkowski's golf buddy Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts got the nod instead and went on to become Speaker. Last November the whip's position was again within Rostenkowski's reach, but O'Neill needed a staunch loyalist to chair Ways and Means. Though a stranger to the fine points of the tax code, Mayor Daley's man characteristically acquiesced to the wishes of his party.

Rostenkowski has thrown himself into the new job, impressing colleagues with his diligence. If he performs well in the tax fight, he could once again have a shot at the Speaker's role. But considering his distaste for Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, Rostenkowski may redirect his ambitions. Says Analyst Rose: "Any Chicago politician understands a basic truth, that being Mayor of Chicago is more important than becoming a Senator, grand vizier—or Speaker of the House."

*The club comprises Congressmen who generally spend only the middle of the week in Washington, returning to their home districts every weekend.

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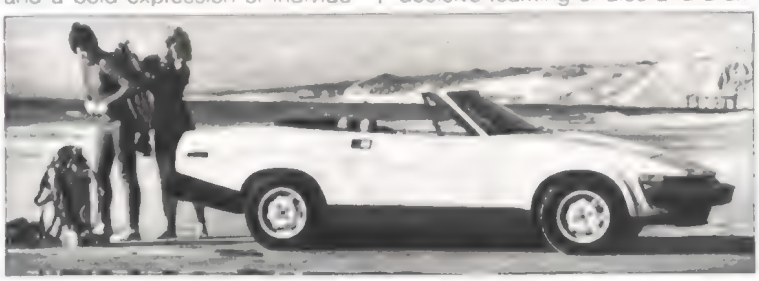

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# Right Man for the Rights Job?

*A Reaganite who may not pass Senate muster*

Conservative Professor Ernest Lefever, 61, went to work at the State Department just two weeks after the President's Inauguration. His posting: Assistant Secretary-designate for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Not everyone was ecstatic about the choice; his detractors included human rights activists, religious groups, liberal politicians and newspaper editorialists. New and popular Presidents, however, tend to be permitted the nominees they want, and Lefever, in testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, airily dismissed his opponents as "Communist-inspired." Yet after two rancorous days of hearings last week, Lefever appeared to have a good chance of becoming the first Reagan appointee rejected by Congress. Still, vows a top Reagan aide: "We're hanging with it."

From his résumé, Lefever would seem qualified for the job. He holds a Yale doctorate in ethics, worked on prisoner resettlement in Europe after World War II, wrote an influential 1957 book called *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy*, and has taught politics at three universities. He was for 37 years a minister of the pacifist Church of the Brethren. He worked as a speechwriter for Hubert Humphrey in 1960, and was on the staff of the liberal Brookings Institution for twelve years. Since 1976 Lefever has headed his own conservative think tank in Washington, the Ethics and Public Policy Center. "I'm a confirmed do-gooder," said Lefever at his Senate hearing. "My whole life has been oriented around human rights and humanitarian concerns."

True enough. Yet the central tenet of Lefever's orientation is that human rights should not be a major concern of U.S. foreign policy. Beyond "serving as a good example" and providing military aid to allies, Lefever wrote, "there is little the U.S. Government can or should do to advance human rights." Two years ago, Lefever recommended to a congressional committee that it remove from U.S. law "all clauses that establish a human rights standard or condition that must be met by another sovereign government." He said last week of that pronouncement: "I goofed."

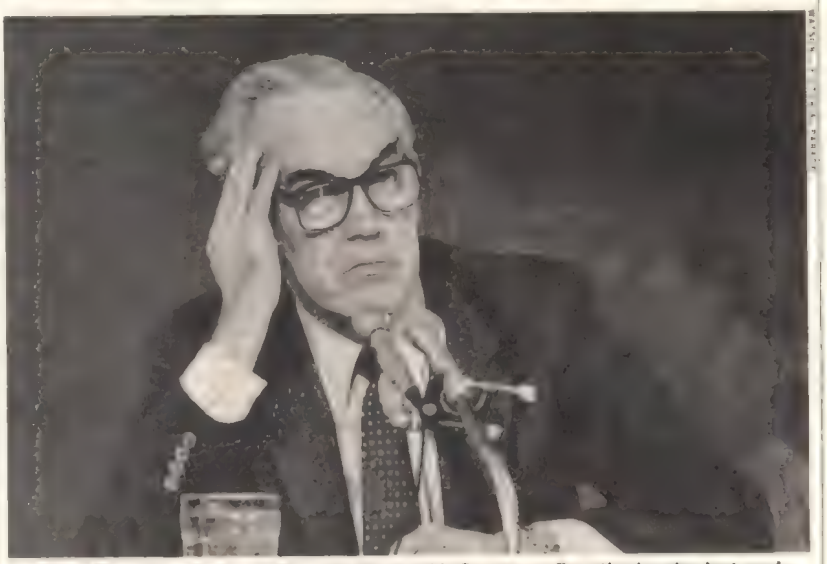
Lefever's opponents believe the White House goofed in nominating him for the job. They are afraid that his confirmation would signal an official American indifference to human rights violations abroad, thus maybe even encouraging such offenses. Some committee members are troubled that Lefever's think tank accepted at least $25,000 from the Nestlé company after commissioning a study that turned out to support Nestlé's marketing of infant formula in developing countries (*see following story*). When Lefever told the committee he thought the human rights job offered only "an occasional opportunity to nudge history," Chairman Charles Percy of Illinois angrily lectured him: "It's important to do more than nudge history. We want an advocate, a spokesman who is looked to as a leader in the fight for rights."

California Democrat Alan Cranston complained that Lefever "seems to have a blind eye to human rights violations by right-wing military dictatorships." Indeed, Lefever has been an apologist for governmental repression in South Africa, South Korea and Chile—governments he defends as merely "authoritarian"—on the unsure ground that these allies are relatively more free than fully "totalitarian" Communist societies. Lefever said he deplored the Carter Administration's tendency to chide certain U.S. allies publicly about their human rights violations. "I don't regard myself as a one-man Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval," he told the committee. "The channels of quiet diplomacy provide a more effective way to encourage greater respect for human rights." When asked by Cranston about his attitude toward official brutality in nations friendly to the U.S., Lefever bristled: "I don't name countries. That's not my style." Lefever reminded Cranston that the Soviet Union is "the greatest violator of human rights and the greatest disturber of world peace." To that, Cranston shouted, "The symbolic and substantive duties of the Assistant Secretary for Human Rights are too important to allow the position to be warped into becoming simply a bully pulpit for Red baiting!"

A stern espousal of anti-Communism does conform with the Administration's foreign policy generally. Still, Lefever was not the first choice of either the State Department or the White House. His appointment was one of many made in deference to the extreme views of Republican Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Helms, alarmed by the growing anti-Lefever fever, dropped in during the second day of testimony, and finally could not contain himself. He snarled at a witness from the National Council of Churches: "You came here as an expert on human rights, and you attack a man of fine character."

Secretary of State Alexander Haig evidently does not share the enthusiasm of Helms for Lefever: Haig told the nominee that he would not put up much of a fight for confirmation. Around Foggy Bottom the Assistant Secretary-designate has been isolated and ignored since the day he moved in. Still, the President has no plans to abandon the appointment. "Just because Lefever's philosophy is not compatible with Chuck Percy's," asserts a Reagan aide, "doesn't mean you yank the nomination." Percy reportedly called the White House after the hearings to recommend just that course. Cranston and his fellow Democrats on the committee publicly suggested that Lefever withdraw himself from consideration—and threatened to further probe his links with Nestlé.

If the committee rejects Lefever, the nomination could still be brought before the full Senate for a vote. But the Administration may well reckon the political costs of such an unorthodox move—and the inevitable, even more acrimonious public battle that would ensue—as not worth the effort. —*By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Johanna McGeary/Washington*



**Assistant Secretary-designate Ernest Lefever at his Senate confirmation hearing last week**

*Charges of impropriety and inappropriateness, but the White House hangs tough.*

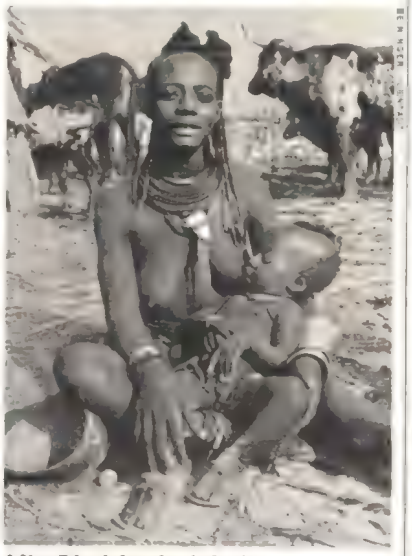
# The Battle of the Bottle

*In Geneva it was the U.S. against the world*

The outcome of last week's World Health Organization vote was never in doubt. Delegates to the WHO meeting in Geneva were considering an international code of conduct to restrict the advertising and marketing of baby formula, a processed, usually powdered substitute for mother's milk. The formula can lead to infant malnutrition and death when used improperly, so the WHO code had the support of doctors and government health officials all over the planet. The final tally was 118 to 1, a near miracle of consensus in any international forum. Which nation was it that cast the only no vote, thus appearing to align itself in opposition to good health for babies? The U.S.

That dissent, ordered by the White House and based on concern that the code would restrict free speech and free trade, touched off a wave of outrage, much of it in the U.S. Dr. Stephen Joseph, the top health official at the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Eugene Babb, the agency's top nutrition expert, resigned their jobs in protest. Joseph called the vote "contrary to the best interests of my country, inexplicable to my professional colleagues . . . and damaging to the health and growth of the world's children." Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts convened an unofficial hearing on the U.S. dissent, which he denounced as "shameful." Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon warned that the vote could send "a message of indifference to the sanctity of human life." Outside the U.S., the reaction was more puzzlement than anger, though even London's conservative *Financial Times* declared, "It is special pleading of the worst kind to invoke the right to free expression and free competition if a potential danger to life and health has been identified."

The infant-formula controversy began about ten years ago, when Dr. Derrick Jelliffer, a public health specialist, declared that infant malnutrition could be linked to the use of baby formula. That substance, usually made from a milk base with vegetable fat, milk sugar, vitamins and minerals added, is nutritious if correctly used. In poor areas of the world, however, that is sometimes impossible. Mothers may unknowingly mix powdered formula with contaminated water or, to save money, dilute it too much. Moreover, breast feeding is healthier and more economical, assuming a baby's mother is healthy and able to produce adequate nourishment for her child.



A Namibian infant feeds for free

Critics have also complained that the infant-formula industry, which has worldwide sales of $2 billion, compounded those hazards by stepping up marketing efforts in Third World countries. Some of the sales tactics were questionable. Employees of some formula companies, dressed as medical personnel, would go from village to village promoting the products. New mothers were routinely given advertising brochures and free samples while still in the hospital.

As a result of such practices, a worldwide boycott was organized in 1977 against the Swiss-based Nestlé company, which accounts for 50% of formula sales to the Third World. Three U.S. firms —Abbott Laboratories, American Home Products and Bristol-Myers—together share 20% of that market. Two years later, Nestlé and the U.S. firms agreed to voluntary guidelines that banned such marketing abuses in developing nations. Antiformula activists say those rules were widely violated, so they pressed the WHO, an agency of the United Nations, to draw up the code adopted last week. Though they are not binding on any nation, the new guidelines apply to infant-formula promotion in industrialized countries as well. Strictly following the code, all nations would prohibit company incentives for doctors to promote formula, free samples for mothers, and consumer advertising generally.

At first, U.S. officials found the guidelines acceptable. Then, after months of lobbying by the three U.S. formula makers and the Grocery Manufacturers of America, an interagency task force recommended that the U.S. discreetly abstain on the WHO code. Yet days before the ballot, word came down from the White House to vote no. Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, declared that U.S. aid programs would continue to encourage breast feeding, but that the WHO limit on infant-formula advertising "has grave constitutional problems for us —we couldn't adopt it here at home, and we couldn't recommend it for anyone else." Furthermore, claims Abrams, the code could so restrict availability of infant formula that "the health of children may actually suffer." Legal scholars might disagree about the gravity of those constitutional problems, but the decision is consistent with the Administration's zealous support for American business, and its antagonism toward economic regulation.

SCHMITT—SYGMA

Discarded Nestlé formula cans at a Thai refugee camp

*"A message of indifference to the sanctity of human life."*

The battle is far from settled. Iowa Democrat Thomas Harkin last week promised to introduce a bill in the House that would turn the WHO recommendations into law. And the National Council of Churches next month will publish a report claiming that powdered formula is not strictly a Third World concern: they found that increased use of baby formula among poor families accounts for infant illnesses in the U.S. Vows John Pedrotti, an antiformula activist: "We want the WHO code to be adopted in this country as well."

*—By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Bruce van Voorst/Geneva and Barbara Dolan/New York*

# 1981 U.S. GOV'T REPORT:

# CARLTON AGAIN!

The United States Government has issued 17 reports on the tar and nicotine content of cigarette brands since 1970. In these 17 reports no cigarette has ever been reported to be lower in tar than CARLTON.

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BOX: Less than 0.01 mg. "tar", 0.002 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method

# Labor Pains

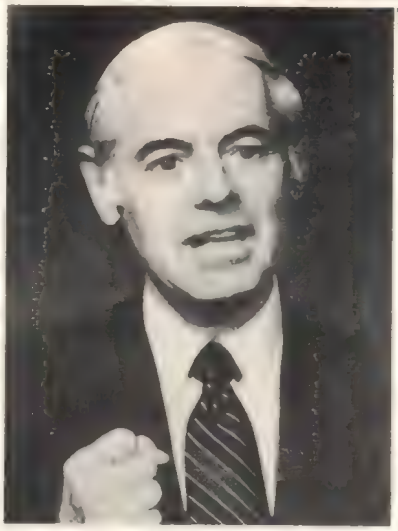
*Of moles and the Mob*

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters meets next week in Las Vegas, where many of the casinos have been financed in part by loans from the pension funds of the union's 2 million members. The principal duty of the delegates will be to elect interim President Roy L. Williams, 66, to a full five-year term, and some will do so without much enthusiasm. The new head of the Teamsters, which has had trouble with the Justice Department for 25 years, has been indicted three times—in 1962, 1972 and 1974—on federal charges of embezzlement and records falsification, but was never convicted. In 1977 Williams was forced under Government pressure to resign as a trustee of the union's Central States Pension Fund, now worth $2.8 billion. Last week he was indicted again, this time on charges of trying to bribe Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada, ranking Democrat on the Commerce Committee.

The latest charges stem from "Operation Pendorf," an FBI investigation into labor racketeering. According to the indictment handed down by a Chicago federal grand jury, Williams, Chicago Insurance Broker Allen Dorfman and three others told Cannon that if he would delay consideration of a bill designed to deregulate trucking rates and routes, he would be allowed to buy some valuable Nevada property owned by the Teamsters pension fund. The deal never came off. Cannon voted for a weakened version of the trucking deregulation bill, which passed. The Justice Department has told the Senator that he will not be indicted, but one official in the Justice Department's organized crime unit said, "We're not about to canonize Cannon. We don't think he will come off looking very good at the trial."

Roy Williams

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations last week added to the Teamster boss's woes; it released a report charging that Williams has ties to organized crime and is under the "complete domination" of Kansas City reputed Mob Boss Nick Civella. The report called the new Teamster chief "an organized crime mole operating at senior levels of the Teamsters Union." It also cited evidence that Williams had been involved in a scheme to receive cash skimmed from Las Vegas casinos. The subcommittee asked the Labor Department to investigate Williams' suitability for the Teamster's job and to seek a federal court order to oust him if he cannot clear up the allegations of corruption. ■



Attorney General William French Smith

# Turning Back

*Undoing Watergate reforms*

Americans in the mid-1970s winced through Watergate, the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. foreign bribery case, corporate indictments for illegal campaign contributions and seemingly endless scandals involving the FBI, CIA or IRS. On the theory that secrecy was the thread linking corruption, and full disclosure was the sword to cut it, Congress between 1974 and 1977 created the Federal Election Commission, broadened the Freedom of Information Act and toughened the ethics and disclosure laws for federal appointees. Corporations were compelled to record and disclose anything that might be construed as a bribe. The FBI and CIA were restricted, especially with respect to wiretaps. The only move toward greater secrecy was a restriction on Government access to taxpayer records, because President Nixon had used IRS audits and prosecutions to punish dissent.

The Reagan Administration may well be deciding that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing and a lot of knowledge is a very dangerous thing. Secrecy is back in favor—although it is now called "privacy." Every major post-Watergate rule is under attack, with some justice, either as an unwarranted intrusion by Government or as an ill-advised restraint on Government's pursuit of crime. Reformers concede that many criticisms are valid but argue for revision not repeal.

Among the laws most likely to change:

**Freedom of Information Act.** Passed by Congress in 1966 and amended in 1974, the law was intended to open Government records to citizens' groups, journalists and scholars. Instead, many more requests come either from prisoners trying to find out which informant might have fingered them for prosecution or from businesses, often practicing an entirely legal form of industrial espionage. Companies can file requests for trade information through intermediaries, so that rivals are unable to discover who is checking on them. The Justice Department also claims that the law is easily misused by foreign spies. In 1974 Congress estimated that it would cost $100,000 annually to enforce FOIA; two years ago, a survey indicated the law costs about $45 million. The shape of any Reagan bill is unclear. Attorney General William French Smith says he might favor priority handling of requests from journalists and scholars.

**Ethics in Government Act.** The act, which included provision for special prosecutors, was created to prevent another Watergate cover-up by a politically tainted Justice Department. It led to long, sensationalized and fruitless investigations of alleged cocaine use by two of Carter's White House aides, Hamilton Jordan and Tim Kraft. Under the act, the Attorney General must ask a special court unit to name a prosecutor whenever there is "specific information" lodged against any of some 240 top officials, whether or not it meets the legal standard of "probable cause" to believe a crime has been committed. Attorney General Smith argues that the act is unconstitutional and wants to abolish it; Benjamin Civiletti, Attorney General under Carter, says the law's scope should be reduced.

**Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.** Special Trade Representative William Brock testified before a Senate committee last week that disclosure of corporate slush funds for foreign payments was hampering American business abroad. He could not cite examples, however, and conceded that U.S. trade grew at twice the world rate in the two years after the 1977 act passed. Reagan supports Republican Senator John Chafee's bill to "clarify" (meaning narrow) the definition of bribery—and to remove the Securities and Exchange Commission, the primary overseer of the act, from enforcement.

Congress may resist a range of other proposed post-Watergate changes: opening IRS files to antidrug investigators, and using more IRS agents to track criminals; diminishing or abolishing the oversight role of the Federal Election Commission; easing disclosure requirements for Cabinet and agency appointees and perhaps the restrictions on their doing business with their former agencies after they leave. Although Congress has less direct control over guidelines on CIA spying, it joined in the recent uproar against such new CIA licenses as domestic surveillance of U.S. citizens. In the end, though, the White House seems likely to nudge Government part of the way back to pre-Watergate morality—albeit with a far more watchful Congress, press and public. ■

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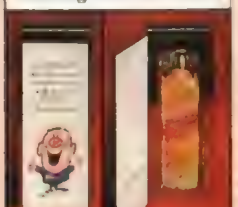

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**"Call Johnnie Walker® Red Contest"**

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ANSWER _____

BONUS ANSWER _____

Mail your completed entry, [illegible] to: Johnnie Walker Red Contest, P.O. Box 8015, New [illegible]

I certify that I [illegible] the laws of my [illegible]

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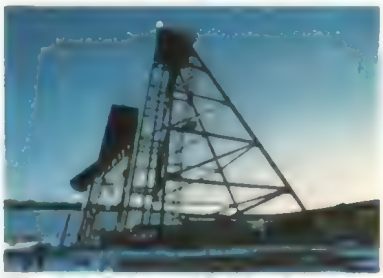

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"The liquid is shale oil. The rock is oil shale."

# "We've Lost the 'Aloha' Feeling"

*Nagging crime, falling tourism and restive Hawaiians*

"The loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean," wrote Mark Twain about Hawaii in 1908. Time has not altered that verdict. The palm trees still sway in the cool breezes, the Pacific surf still spills across powdery white beaches, and the scent of lei still perfumes the air. Yet amid its travel-brochure lushness, Hawaii is struggling to cope with a surge in crime, a slump in tourism and the social strains caused by two decades of rapid growth. Laments Honolulu Mayor Eileen Anderson: "We've lost the feeling of 'Aloha' for one another."

The clearest sign of paradise lost is the state's crime rate. Between 1976 and 1980, murders climbed 53%, rape 61% and robbery 55%. Among 18 U.S. cities with a population of 500,000 to 1 million, Honolulu ranked fifth in larceny and ninth in car thefts last year. State officials last week reported that crime was down 8.1% for the first quarter of 1981, compared with the same period in 1980, but the dip hardly dents the growth of the problem in recent years. Admits Deputy Chief of Police Harold Falk Jr.: "Honolulu is no longer some isolated South Sea paradise. We suffer the same problems as big cities on the mainland."

Though some 90% of the crimes in Hawaii are committed against permanent residents, it is the remaining 10%—those committed against tourists—that cause the biggest headlines. The trials of nine youths for the rape of a Finnish dental student in a park near Honolulu in 1979 attracted worldwide attention, as did the murder of a young California couple on a popular hiking trail on Kauai last March. Perhaps the most audacious crime of the past year occurred in early March, when a pair of armed teen-agers hijacked a busload of Japanese tourists at Honolulu airport and robbed them of $11,000 in cash and a stack of cameras and jewelry; two suspects were arrested the same day.

Though the increase in theft and violence cannot be pinned to any single cause, many blame the influx of outsiders, which has increased the gap between rich and poor. Among the most downtrodden: the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. Those descendants of the islands' original Polynesian settlers make up less than 20% of the total population of 975,000. (Of the rest, 26% are Caucasian, 25% are of Japanese stock and the balance Filipino, Chinese and Korean, among other ethnic groups). Poorly educated and relegated for the most part to the lower rungs of the economic ladder, the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians resent the immigrants, or *malihinis*, for dominating the political and commercial landscape of the lands that once belonged to them. Says Hawaiian Activist A. Leiomalama Solomon: "They don't tell us to get to the back of the bus. They just make it more difficult for us to get on the bus."

Their resentment is only sharpened by the haphazard development of the islands over the past two decades. Between 1970 and 1980, the population of Hawaii registered its greatest increase ever. Around Honolulu, subdivisions have sprung up on land once covered by pineapple plants and sugar cane. On Maui, the once pristine coastline between Lahaina and Kaanapali is now studded with hotels and condominiums. Says Kazu Morita, 62, a third-generation Japanese Hawaiian who owns a gas station on Kauai: "When we were kids, we could go through anybody's property to the sea. Now they've built houses, and we cannot get close." Most annoying to many Hawaiians is that so much of the development is controlled by Japanese and other foreigners. Says John Werheim, a cucumber farmer on Kauai: "When the big international chains come here they pay the chambermaids little, the taxes go up, the roads get crowded, and the profits leave."

The tensions are also exacerbated by a slump in tourism, the state's premier industry ($2.6 billion in 1979). The number of tourists dropped last year for the first time since 1949, and the visitor count during the first quarter of 1981 was down 5% from the same period in 1980. Many native Hawaiians work in hotels, stores and other tourist-dependent businesses, and the fall-off has encouraged the state government to boost efforts to diversify the economy.

For nearly a decade, many Hawaiians have been pushing to reclaim the lands that were seized from their ancestors when the U.S. annexed the islands in 1898. "We were seeing everything slipping out of our hands," recalls Charles Kauluwehi Maxwell, a retired Maui policeman. "The native Hawaiians felt that the only thing they had to hang on to was their land." In 1973 the first of several bills claiming reparations of 2 million acres and $1 billion was introduced in Congress. Hawaiian activists believe that any settlement will have to await the report of a Native Hawaiians Study Commission set up in the closing weeks of the Carter Administration.

Yet the activists can claim at least one victory: the state in 1978 created the office of Hawaiian affairs, whose nine trustees were elected in a Hawaiians-only ballot last November. The office is still hiring staff members, but for the first time the islands' dispossessed minority has a popularly elected agency to represent its interests.

Hawaiians have also begun to take greater pride in their ways and customs as they struggle to reassert their identity. Two decades ago, churches on the islands routinely refused to baptize children unless they were given Anglicized names; Hawaiians now openly give their children traditional names (most common: Kimo for boys and Mele for girls). At Roosevelt High School in Honolulu, 90 students are now studying Hawaiian; the course did not exist three years ago. Since 1974 ten outrigger racing clubs have sprung up on the island of Hawaii alone. Governor George Ariyoshi, for one, applauds the Hawaiians' new assertiveness. Says Ariyoshi, a Japanese-American: "In Hawaii more people understand other people's culture than anywhere else on earth. If we don't make a conscious effort, we are going to lose that."

*—By James Kelly. Reported by Michael Moritz/Honolulu*

**On Maui, hotels and cottages now dot the once pristine coastline near Kaanapali**

*"As kids we could go through anybody's property to the sea. Now we cannot get close."*

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# Daring Mission, Dashed Hopes

*CIA finds no P.O.W.s in Laos, but M.I.A. families keep hoping*

The Viet Nam War is long over, and for most Americans, best forgotten. But there remains a nagging concern —and for many families a daily grief— that, when the U.S. got out of Southeast Asia, it may have left dozens, even hundreds of P.O.W.s behind. Past Administrations have tacitly assumed that there may be some survivors among the 2,528 men missing, including 560 lost in Laos. The anguished families believe that as many as 300 of them are still alive. Neither Viet Nam nor Laos admits holding any prisoners, and no one has ever found solid proof.

But the U.S. Government has tried. According to a front-page story in the Washington *Post* last week, Defense Intelligence Agency analysts studying satellite photographs had spotted seemingly persuasive evidence of an American prisoner-of-war camp in Laos. The Central Intelligence Agency then trained and organized a group of Laotian mercenaries —many of them Hmong hill tribesmen —who crossed the border from Thailand and got close enough to take more definitive photos on the ground. The sad conclusion, according to Defense Department Spokesman Henry Catto: "There is no evidence that would lead us to believe there are Americans being held in Laos."

The Hmong tribesmen were apparently the first secret reconnaissance force to enter Laos on behalf of the soldiers missing in action but not the first ones to try. Angered by the refusal of the Carter Administration to accept and act on the uncertain proof that Americans are being held in Southeast Asia, families of the missing raised a dozen-man commando squad of their own—an underfinanced and overaged group of veterans from the Green Berets. Their improbable training center for an operation code-named "Velvet Hammer" was an academy for cheerleaders in Leesburg, Fla., near Orlando. Their leader was retired Lieut. Colonel James ("Bo") Gritz, 42, a former Army public affairs officer who served in Viet Nam and who now works for Hughes Helicopter in Culver City, Calif. Gritz (rhymes with beets) may not have been the ideal choice to run the secret operation: he showed up at the training camp with a psychic, a hypnotherapist, an ABC News crew and a Washington *Post* reporter to serve as "historical record keeper." After spending about $40,000 of the P.O.W. families' rescue money, Gritz's squad disbanded—according to Gritz, at the request of the Government.

Enter the CIA, which decided to organize its own mission on the basis of reconnaissance photographs that suggested the presence of a P.O.W. camp in Laos, near the former Ho Chi Minh Trail.

The photographs appeared to show people taller than native Laotians, using tools too big for natives, sometimes sitting cross-legged on the ground, instead of squatting Oriental-style. Surrounding them, it appeared, was a stockade with towers. Perhaps most persuasive, an aerial photograph showed the numerals 52 outlined on the ground. No one is sure what that number might signify: 52 prisoners in the camp, perhaps, or that the captives were the crew of one of the B-52s that had been shot down over the region. Because the numerals were first observed after Jan. 20, one theory was that they represented the 52 American hostages released from Iran.

The satellite photos, taken from an altitude of 80,000 ft. at 2,000 m.p.h., were enhanced through use of a computer. They seemed sharp enough to show prisoners posed in a secret body-language code taught to selected airmen facing a risk of capture. The code had worked before; it alerted photo interpreters that there were Americans at Son Tay prison camp near Hanoi, although by the time that daring rescue attempt was carried out in 1970, the prisoners had been moved.

Alas, the esoteric decoding of the intelligence agencies' elaborate technology was wrong. The Hmong brought back "ground check" photographs, which satisfied the agency that there were no Caucasians in the camp—neither Americans nor Soviet advisers, whom the CIA had half-jokingly feared "rescuing" against their will.

The families insist there is plenty of other evidence that American P.O.W.s are being held, particularly in Laos, and that their physical condition is deteriorating. George Brooks of Newburgh, N.Y., whose son was shot down over Laos in 1970, has compiled some 450 reports. Among the most important is a 1980 debriefing in Paris of a Laotian who spent 18 years in prison. He said that he had shared cells with Americans and that seven had died in the four months before he left. Other refugees have reported seeing foreigners in Laos held under guard or kept in caves rather than prison camps. There have been similar but sketchier sightings in Viet Nam. Most of these reports were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. But after the Paris debriefing, Brooks claims, the Carter Administration reclassified most reports of P.O.W. sightings as "top secret" and thus denied the families access.

The number of potential survivors of the war is hard to calculate. Of the 2,528 missing, the Pentagon has listed 1,178 as killed in action (although no bodies were found), 1,237 as missing in action and 113 as presumed prisoners of war. Of the 560 missing in Laos, only three had been declared prisoners of war. The families claim a "hard count" of 27 Americans in Laos and a possible total of 50. They believe there are about 250 more in Viet Nam. They agree with the Government that any Americans missing in Cambodia are presumed to have been killed at the outset of the Pol Pot government's "re-education" holocaust in 1975.

If Viet Nam and Laos are holding prisoners, say the families, those countries may be seeking ransom in the form of foreign aid. Instead, the U.S. has withheld permission for grain sales and other food aid because of Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia. "Our main struggle," says a former military officer now involved in the families' cause, "has been to force the Government to admit they are still there and then to either buy them back or bring them back." —*By William A. Henry III. Reported by William McWhirter/Miami and Eileen Shields/Washington*

FRANCE

# The Changing Of the Guard

## *Enter Mitterrand, with a rose and plebeian touch*

*"You may my glories and my state depose,*
*But not my griefs; still am I king of those."*
*—King Richard II*

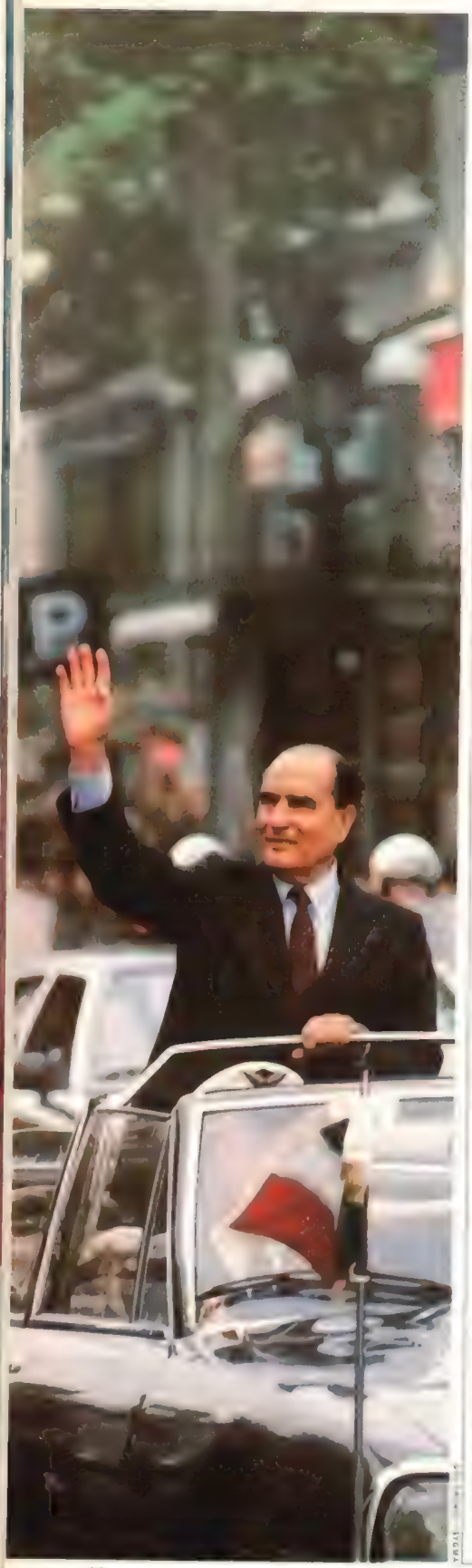
For sheer theatricality, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's passing from the presidency in France rivaled King Richard II's dethronement in Shakespeare's play. In a carefully staged farewell address to the nation on television last week, the defeated President seemed to concede that, like the deposed monarch, he had not yet "shook off the regal thoughts wherewith I reign'd." Seated at a desk in solitary grandeur in a leather-bound chair in an otherwise unfurnished room, Giscard spoke of "the end of great hopes" brought about by the election two weeks ago of Socialist François Mitterrand. At the same time, he pledged that he would always be at his "country's disposal," presumably in case the electorate should one day decide to oust the usurper. Giscard ended his address with an emotional invocation: "In these difficult times, when evil prowls and strikes in the world, I hope that Providence will watch over France, for its happiness, its well-being and its greatness." Finally, he intoned a solemn *"au revoir,"* rose and walked slowly out of camera view to the music of the *Marseillaise*. Following the President's exit, France's national anthem continued to be played at a dirgelike pace for 53 seconds while the camera focused on Giscard's empty chair.

This generation of Frenchmen had never experienced the transfer of presidential power from one side of the political fence to the other, and they were not sure what to expect after Giscard's regal exit. As it turned out, François Mitterrand's inauguration attempted to set a deliberately plebeian tone. France's new Socialist President arrived at the Elysée Palace dressed in a plain, dark flannel suit and a red tie. On hand to greet him at the top of the steps of the presidential palace was Giscard, who, after a brief handshake, took his successor to his old corner office, overlooking the Elysée's lush gardens. There the two politicians remained closeted for a 45-minute colloquy that symbolized the transfer of presidential power.

Then, as Giscard walked out the front gate to his private car, Mitterrand proceeded to the tapestry-lined Salle des Fêtes to greet several hundred invited guests, including local officials from the Charente region where he was born 64 years ago, Neo-Gaullist Leader Jacques Chirac in his capacity as mayor of Paris, and several Communist members of Parliament. Most conspicuous were the scores of Socialists who had assembled to witness their leader's triumph, such as Lionel Jospin, Mitterrand's successor as party chief, and Pierre Mendès-France, 74, former Socialist Premier in whose Cabinet Mitterrand served from June 1954 to February 1955.

The formal inaugural ceremony was as laconic as tradition allowed. President of the Constitutional Council Roger Frey read a brief statement declaring that Mitterrand had won a majority of votes in the May 10 election. Mitterrand then stepped to the microphones and made a four-minute speech that was obviously intended to convey reassurance rather than radicalism. "It is natural for a great nation to have great ambitions," he said. "In today's world, can there be a loftier duty for our country than to achieve a new alliance between socialism and liberty?" Speaking of his election, he said, "There was only one victor on May 10—hope. May it become the best shared asset in France." Promising that he would be President of all the French, regardless of their political views, Mitterrand concluded: "To all French men and women beyond this room and beyond this palace, I say: Let's have faith and confidence in the future. *Vive la République! Vive la France!"* Only once did the impassive-looking President allow himself a show of personal emotion. Pausing in the handshaking that followed his speech, he wrapped his arms around Mendès-France, bringing tears to the venerable Socialist's eyes.

Minutes later, Mitterrand's first Cabinet choice was announced. Pierre Mauroy, 52, the mayor of the northern industrial city of Lille and longtime Socialist Party stalwart, was named Premier in the interim government that will rule until



**Mitterrand in motorcade on inauguration day**

the parliamentary elections take place next month. Other ministerial appointments announced later in the week included some familiar names in the hierarchy of the Socialist Party. The new Foreign Minister will be Claude Cheysson, 61, the architect of the European Community's liberal Third World trade policy. Banker Jacques Delors, 55, once a key adviser to former Gaullist Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, will be Minister of Economy and Finance. Gaston Defferre, 70, the mayor of Marseille, will be the nation's top policeman in his capacity as Minister of the Interior. Mitterrand's rival for the presidential nomination last year, Michel Rocard, 50, will be Minister for Planning and Regional Development.

Following the ritual wreath laying at the tomb of the unknown soldier under the Arc de Triomphe—attended by such fellow Socialists as former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and Greek Actress and Parliamentarian Melina Mercouri—Mitterrand proceeded to the Left Bank and a new ceremony of his own: a pilgrimage to the Panthéon that provided a television spectacular that was even better orchestrated than Giscard's farewell.

At the Panthéon, where many of France's great men are entombed, Mitterrand was greeted by the Orchestre de Paris playing Beethoven's "Ode to Joy." As the music swelled, he descended into the labyrinthine crypt. Impervious to the television camera recording his progress, the solitary President walked to the tomb of Resistance Hero Jean Moulin, paused a moment, then placed a single rose upon the stark stone monument. He went on to the grave of Jean Jaurès, the father of French Socialism. Again there was a long pause—and another rose. When Mitterrand emerged from the Panthéon to face a crowd of cheering young supporters brandishing red roses, he displayed the first smile of his inauguration day. A final flourish was provided by a rendition of the *Marseillaise* at the brisk, exuberant post-Giscard tempo that has been personally prescribed by Mitterrand.

The new administration's first acts reflected Mitterrand's priorities. On inauguration night Premier Mauroy announced a series of technical measures to protect the hemorrhaging franc, which the Bank of France has been trying to defend at the rate of $200 million per day since Mitterrand's election caused a run on the franc in Europe's money markets. The next morning the new President visited the Elysée Palace's underground "Jupiter Room" for a briefing on France's nuclear forces. By noon he had issued a decree dissolving the National Assembly and calling for new parliamentary elections June 14 and 21.

Mitterrand's dissolution of the 491-member Assembly, which is at present dominated by center-right parties, was essential. In order to govern, let alone deliver on his campaign promises to create new jobs and nationalize eleven major industries, Mitterrand needs a Socialist majority or an effective leftist coalition in Parliament. This week Socialist Party Chief Jospin will open negotiations with the Communist leadership to determine the two parties' relationship during the forthcoming election campaign, and perhaps in the government that will be formed thereafter. The results of the latest public opinion poll in France suggested that the Socialists may hold an unexpectedly strong hand in dealing with the Communists. The poll, published in the newsmagazine *Le Point*, gave the Socialists and their left-radical allies a stunning 36% of the vote. That percentage would translate into 244 Assembly seats, more than twice the Socialists' current strength and only two shy of an absolute majority. If the poll proves to be correct (and it called Mitterrand's presidential victory to the percentage point), a Socialist alliance with the Communists in Parliament may not be necessary.

Meanwhile members of Giscard's Union for French Democracy (U.D.F.) were running scared in the face of a possible Socialist surge in the June elections. Discarding Giscard as a divisive force, the U.D.F. had turned to Chirac, calculating that only an alliance with the Neo-Gaullists offered a hope of an Assembly coalition capable of blocking Mitterrand's most radical reforms.

Meanwhile, Giscard has repaired to his château near the Loire Valley town of Authon, in possible imitation of Charles de Gaulle, who spent twelve years in his country house before returning to power in 1958. Giscard plans to start work on his memoirs while awaiting the anguished call that he believes will inevitably come after Mitterrand—as he foresees it—has crippled France's economy and its political institutions. "In my Loire Valley retreat," Giscard had mused bitterly in a pre-election allusion to his possible defeat, "I will be the most popular man in France." *—By Patricia Blake. Reported by Henry Muller/Paris*

## A Moderate Premier

François Mitterrand needed a moderate Premier who could reassure a nation still caught uneasily between jubilation and the jitters over the novelty of a Socialist in the Elysée Palace. But he could not accept another bloodless technocrat of the kind that he had criticized in the Giscard regime. He needed a political figure with a popular touch. No one fit that description better than Pierre Mauroy, 52. The big (6 ft. 2 in.) burly mayor of the northern industrial center of Lille, Mauroy (pronounced Mawr-*wah*) is an archetypal man of the north, pragmatic, hard-working and direct. He was born in the town of Cartignies, the grandson of a woodcutter and the son of a teacher. His family moved in 1936 to the steelworkers' village of Haussy, where the weekly Socialist street demonstration was the major public event. "At eight years old," he recalled in his book, *Heirs to the Future*, "I already knew the *Internationale*." After World War II, Mauroy became a teacher and began working at Socialist Party headquarters in Paris. He eventually moved to Lille and became mayor in 1973. Mauroy's meeting with Mitterrand in 1965 was a union between a dogged tactician and a strategic visionary that helped transform the party. In the early 1970s, Mitterrand visualized a broad alliance with the Communist Party; Mauroy hammered out the details. When the alliance collapsed, Mauroy brought the idealistic Mitterrand back to the pragmatic center. The new Premier is expected to pursue what is possible, unblinded by what he once called "the illusion of revolution." Mauroy, said *Le Monde*, is "an authentic socialist . . . a man who incarnates at once a legitimacy, an attitude and a region."

Pierre Mauroy

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing leaving the Elysée after saying goodbye to palace guards

*The national anthem continued to be played at a dirgelike pace.*

ITALY

# Not Yet Hale, but Hearty

*As the Pope recovers, his assailant remains a mystery*

His first normal meal consisted of consommé and a boiled, mashed pear, and the next day he tackled a bowl of *stracciatella*, a hot chicken broth with egg drops. There were clear signs last week that Pope John Paul II was on his way to recovery—and, as usual with any job he tackled, doing it robustly. Doctors at Rome's Agostino Gemelli Polyclinic removed the 26 stitches they had inserted after a would-be assassin's bullet ripped through the Pope's abdomen on May 13. The Pontiff received visitors, made brief voyages to a nearby armchair and walked in the corridor outside the tenth-floor four-room suite, where he had been moved from the hospital's intensive-care unit.

Typically, John Paul was thinking of others. He ordered flowers sent to the two American tourists, Rose Hall and Ann Odre, who had been shot with him in that appalling moment in St. Peter's Square. When a group of 52 schoolchildren gathered below to serenade him with a folk song and offer prayers for his speedy recovery, the Pope sent a messenger bustling down with a fond reply: "I bless you, and I would like to kiss you all, one by one." John Paul even celebrated a birthday; he was an increasingly hearty, if not yet hale, 61.

Doctors warned that the accelerated pace of the Pope's recovery did not mean the end of his ordeal. John Paul faces a second major operation in approximately a month to reconnect his large intestine, which was surgically isolated to help cut the risk of infection. But a team of six doctors from five countries (two from the U.S., one each from France, Poland, Spain and West Germany) pronounced him to be recovering nicely so far. Early last week the Pope was moved to say, after sipping tea laced with sugar, "*Per la prima volta, mi sento bene*" (For the first time, I feel well).

Though the Pope was impaired, business at the rigidly hierarchical Vatican moved on, intruding on the patient as discreetly as possible. John Paul met six times with Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Secretary of State, and was told of the defeat of a referendum proposal backed by the Pope that would have restricted abortions. He also received a surprise visit from Franciszek Cardinal Macharski, the Archbishop of Cracow and an old personal friend, who brought "the greetings of the people of Poland."

Meanwhile, about 3½ miles away, Italian police were still trying to make sense out of the bizarre maunderings of Mehmet Ali Agca, the gaunt and hollow-eyed Turkish gunman who felled John Paul in what he termed a "protest against the imperialism of the Soviet Union and the United States." The terrorist told interrogators that he had first wanted to kill the "King of England" as well as the President of the European Parliament. He said he changed his mind after discovering that Britain was ruled by Queen Elizabeth II and the Europarliamentary President was a woman, Simone Veil. Agca told police that "as a Turk and a Muslim," he would not kill a woman.

Mehmet Ali Agca

Agca made that point again when he was moved from central police headquarters in Rome to the city's Rebibbia prison after eight days of interrogation. Unshaven and blinking in the sunlight, his gray worsted, double-breasted suit hanging loosely on his lean frame, Agca declared remorse—for incidentally wounding the two female American tourists. Said he: "I am well. I am sorry not for the Pope but for the foreign tourists."

What was known about Agca—especially the path of his travels from Turkey—remained remarkably fragmentary; the numerous accounts that appeared in the world's press were often contradictory. Turkish authorities were at least confident about one point: despite Agca's initial claims that he was associated with the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, he was really a right-wing fanatic. Agca was a frequenter of the "idealist youth associations," which are known to be satellites of the National Action Party (N.A.P.), a neofascist group with 586 members currently facing trial for terrorist acts in Turkey. Of those indicted, 220, including N.A.P. Leader Alpaslan Turkes, could receive the death penalty. There was also no doubt that Agca had been convicted of murdering a Turkish newspaper editor, that he had escaped during psychiatric observation with the connivance of more than a dozen members of the Turkish armed forces, that he was sentenced to death *in absentia* and that he had also killed a man who informed on him.

Agca's trail led from Ankara to his home town of Malatya in eastern Anatolia and, in February 1980, to the town of Erzurum, 150 miles from the Iranian border. He then disappeared into Iran. Exactly where he went thereafter is a mystery. West German officials doubt that Agca visited their country, although Turkish sources claim Agca and another N.A.P. terrorist were seen near Stuttgart. Stamps in his forged passport indicate that Agca spent time in Spain. He is known to have visited Tunisia. Agca claims to have traveled to Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany and Denmark. But it was to Austria, which Agca did not mention, that authorities traced the 9-mm Browning pistol used at St. Peter's. The weapon apparently was stolen from a retired gunsmith near Vienna.

Could Agca have managed all this without help? He had handled the pistol like a trained marksman. A Rome police spokesman said his forged passport was "absolutely perfect. He could not have produced it alone." (Turkish police say they have arrested two men and a woman in connection with the passport forgery.) Was it possible that Agca could have financed his 16-month stay in Europe, as he claimed, through "the gifts of friends"? Authorities were by no means sure, but at week's end they still believed he had

MARI—L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO

**More alert every day, John Paul II sits up in Rome's Gemelli hospital**

*"I bless you, and I would like to kiss you all, one by one."*

probably been acting alone.

As Agca continued to puzzle the Italian police, the Pope was announcing his forgiveness for the "brother" who had shot him. The Pontiff was absent from the Vatican window where he normally delivers a Sunday blessing to pilgrims, but his tape-recorded voice was there instead, ringing clear over the huge square.

John Paul's doctors expect—and hope—that he will spend at least a month convalescing in the hospital, and much more time than that before resuming his duties. He may not be able to travel again for six months. When he does, or when he appears at St. Peter's, the Cardinals who know him best feel certain that the Pope will once again want to plunge into the crowds of admirers and worshipers. Says Carlo Cardinal Confalonieri, the dean of the College of Cardinals: "The good shepherd offers his life for his sheep. Because of this, the shepherd will not detach himself from them. It would imply that he is abandoning his flock."

■ ■ ■

Although he was careful not to talk about the referendum itself, the Pope had made clear his opposition to abortion as last week's vote drew nearer. Said he: "The church considers every legislation in favor of abortion as a grave offense against the fundamental rights of man and against the divine commandment 'Thou shalt not kill.' " Consequently, John Paul was criticized by liberal and moderate politicians and newspapers for transgressing the boundary between church and state.

To the consternation of the church, and to the surprise of many who had expected a sympathy vote for the wounded Pope, the voters in 97.5% Roman Catholic Italy turned down the restricting referendum by a 2-to-1 margin. The result leaves intact Italy's controversial three-year-old law that allows women over 18 and minors with the consent of parents to receive abortions at state expense during the first 90 days of pregnancy. Currently, there are about 200,000 such legal operations every year, and the rate is climbing; there are also an estimated 600,000 illegal abortions annually, mostly because many approved clinics bow to church opposition and refuse to perform the operations. Voters also overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to make the 1978 abortion law even more liberal.

Glum at the outcome, church leaders vowed to continue their right-to-life fight from the pulpit. Canon law holds that abortion is a grave sin and that all those involved in it—doctors, nurses, as well as patients—incur automatic excommunication. Anastasio Alberto Cardinal Ballestrero, president of the Italian Bishops Conference, noted that the church must "never renounce its mission of evangelization and education of the human conscience." Said Vittoria Quarenghi, a Christian Democratic member of parliament and a leader in the antiabortion drive: "We have not lost the war, only a battle." *—By George Russell. Reported by Wilton Wynn/Rome*

MIDDLE EAST

# Still Shuttling for a Deal

## *U.S. Envoy Habib struggles to defuse the missile crisis*

The threat and the danger were still there. Syrian SA-6 missiles last week streaked into the sky over the Bekaa Valley to down at least one Israeli reconnaissance drone. Israel and Syria remained at loggerheads over the deployment of the Soviet-made missiles, and there was always the grave risk that one side or the other could miscalculate and ignite the region in conflict. But for the first time since the confrontation began, there was cautious optimism in both Jerusalem and Damascus that U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib, 61, might succeed, through his patient, peripatetic diplomatic shuttle, in fashioning a resolution to the crisis—a mission that was given virtually no chance of success when he undertook it three weeks ago.

**Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, left; Syrian President Hafez Assad**

*Trying to use Saudi dollars and patient diplomacy to bring peace to Lebanon.*

The first glimmer that Habib's talkathon might be paying off came early in the week, when Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin made the surprising announcement that his Cabinet had unanimously voted "to put no time limit whatsoever" on Habib's efforts to solve the problem through diplomatic channels. At the outset of the crisis, Begin had darkly hinted that Secretary of State Alexander Haig's envoy had only a week to work his magic, or Israel would attack the missiles. Two days after the Cabinet meeting, in what seemed to be a reassuring signal to Syria's President Hafez Assad, Begin spoke before a gathering of war veterans and flatly declared that Israel would not be the first to use force. Said an Israeli diplomat: "I would say that the chance of war now is almost nothing."

As he went about his duties, the Lebanese American, whose patient, stubborn diplomacy appeared to be the last best hope for peace in the area, was as tight-lipped as ever about his mission. "I know you guys have to make a living too," he told reporters, "but this is a serious effort that in no way would be served by public comment." Habib has skillfully managed to cool tempers during his meetings with Begin and Assad. Remarks an American diplomat involved in the shuttle: "He has a knack for timing, knowing when to act as conceptualizer one moment and a street-wise Brooklyn type the next."

After three tense and exhausting weeks on the diplomatic trail, Habib could already be credited with helping to forestall an Israeli air raid on the missile sites. But the future joustings of bitter Middle Eastern rivalries remained uncertain, even if the immediate crisis could be resolved. Said a Western diplomat: "I hate to think that he might have to live like this for a couple of years."

Increasingly it appeared that the key to a solution of the present threat might lie with Saudi Arabia, where Habib had spent two days in talks with Crown Prince Fahd and other Saudi officials. The Saudis deeply fear that if a Syrian-Israeli confrontation were to take place, the Soviets would strengthen their influence in the region. Damascus and Moscow signed a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation last October. In the Saudi view, a military conflict might also foster radical politics in the area, posing yet another threat to

stability and conservative Arab regimes.

The Saudi strategy seemed to be to rally a public show of Arab support for Syria against Israel—and then use Saudi dollars to buy Syrian cooperation with the Israelis on a settlement. The reputed sum: a colossal $4 billion. In return, the Saudis were said to want a restructuring of the Syrian-manned Arab Deterrent Force in Lebanon. The A.D.F. came to Lebanon in 1976 under an Arab League mandate as peace keeper in the Lebanese civil war. Originally, it included troops from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Sudan and South Yemen, but these units have since been withdrawn, leaving only the 30,000 Syrians. The Saudis would like to see the A.D.F. again broadened to include other Arab countries, a step that would help defuse charges that Syria is using the A.D.F to occupy and control Lebanon.

In addition to the Saudi aid to Syria, the essential elements of the deal Habib was trying to shape consisted of two basic parts. First, Lebanese army units would occupy Zahle and the strategic Sannin Ridge, several miles northwest of the city, so bitterly fought over by the Syrians and the Christian Phalangists. Initially, the Lebanese units would be under Syrian control, but in time command could shift to officers sympathetic to the Christians. Second, the Syrians would quietly remove their SA-6 missiles from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, possibly after a formal request from the Lebanese government. Israel, in turn, would exercise more discretion in its reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. Israel would also tacitly agree not to engage Syrian forces. In short, no more Syrian helicopters would be shot down in incidents like the one that sparked the present crisis. The Palestinians, meanwhile, were considering going along with an understanding that they stop shelling northern Israel in return for a halt in Israeli bombardment of their strongholds in southern Lebanon.

For all the behind-the-scenes maneuvering, neither Israel nor Syria was publicly giving in on the sticking points. Begin continued to insist that Israel would not agree to any limitations of Israeli air activity over Lebanon. Last week he appeared to be upping the ante again, when he declared that Syria must remove all missiles deployed "after the outbreak of the crisis," including those just inside the Syrian border that can strike at Israeli planes—a demand almost impossible for Damascus to meet. There also was growing concern in Jerusalem over the Saudis' emerging role as peacemaker. Some Israelis claim that the Saudis are trying to get credit for easing the crisis so that the U.S. Congress will vote to let them have supersophisticated Airborne Warning and Control System planes (AWACS).

Still, Begin, who is waging a rugged campaign for re-election on June 30, knew that there was no disposition whatsoever in Israel for a full-scale war with Syria. In fact, the SA-6 issue was superseded on the front pages last week by a national teachers' strike.

In Damascus, Assad took the unusual step of calling in U.S. reporters for a two-hour interview, his first since the missile tension began, to "address the American public." Assad had P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat waiting in an anteroom as he explained that Syria had deployed the missiles "only after Israel committed direct aggression against us, attacking our helicopters, which carried food provisions to our troops in Lebanon." He charged that Israel's use of airspace over Lebanon was illegal. "Will Israel give Lebanon free access to its airspace? Will Israel allow Lebanese planes to carry out reconnaissance missions in Israeli airspace?" He concluded: "If it depended on us, I would say there would be no war. But if we are attacked by Israel, we shall fiercely defend ourselves."

**U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib**

*Sometimes a "street-wise Brooklyn type."*

At week's end Habib arrived back in Beirut to the scream and thud of some of the heaviest shelling and artillery fire since the civil war. He needed no further reminder of the urgency of attaining a broader U.S. goal: to work out a settlement among the warring factions in Lebanon so that crises would not keep on exploding like a series of land mines. To that end, Habib has also been seeking ways to strengthen Lebanon's army, to get the Syrians to take more responsibility for disruptive left-wing activities in and around Beirut, and to ease the growing militancy and sometimes separatist notions of the Lebanese Christians. Emissary Habib could be riding his shuttle for some time. *—By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by David Aikman/Jerusalem and William Stewart/Beirut*

NORTHERN IRELAND

# Death Cycle

## *The rhythm quickens*

By now the mournful drama had taken on all the predictable ritual of a Passion Play. First came the terse announcement that Raymond McCreesh, 24, an inmate of the Maze Prison, had become the third Irish Republican Army hunger striker this month to take "his own life by refusing food and medical intervention," as the British government officially put it. Then came the rioting through Catholic neighborhoods of Belfast and Londonderry as women banged dustbin lids in the early morning darkness and gangs of youthful I.R.A. sympathizers attacked army and police patrols with stones and fire bombs. At week's end the grim cycle began all over again as Patrick O'Hara, 24, became the fourth hunger striker to die. The rioting left one man and a twelve-year-old girl dead—apparently victims of plastic bullets—while six British soldiers were injured. But neither last week's casualties, nor the possibility of more to come, seemed likely to force the British to yield to the protesters' demand that they be treated as political prisoners rather than common criminals.

Indeed, British resolve seemed firmer than ever in the wake of a spectacular bombing earlier in the week that left five soldiers dead near McCreesh's home village of Camlough in Armagh County. The 1,000-lb. device, planted by the I.R.A. in a culvert and detonated by remote control, pulverized a passing ten-ton Saracen armored car, scattering fragments and bodies around a 300-yd. radius.

Responding to the attack, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared bitterly: "I hope that when [the soldiers'] murderers have been tried and convicted, no one will claim that they are entitled to special privileges ... for having done cold, callous, brutal murder." Though opposition M.P.s have begun calling for a more flexible approach to the Northern Ireland problem, Thatcher's tough stance on the prison protest still had strong backing from the British public: in a recent poll, only 4% believed that the prisoners should have political status.

A growing and ominous polarization in Northern Ireland was reflected in last week's local elections. The Rev. Ian Paisley's hard-line Democratic Unionist Party doubled its seats with a show of Protestant militancy, making Paisley Ulster's dominant politician, and candidates backing the I.R.A. hunger strikers fared well among Catholics. The results were no comfort for Thatcher or the Irish Republic's Prime Minister Charles Haughey, who called a national election for June 11, partly to win a fresh mandate for his attempts to mediate with London some solution to what he called the "tragic situation" across the northern border. ■

U.S. and Iranian negotiating teams face each other across bargaining table last week

DIPLOMACY

# Opening Gambit

## *Claims arbitration begins*

The yellow ribbons have long since disappeared. Most of the 52 former American hostages have picked up their careers and moved ahead with their lives. But the complex deal that won their release four months ago will probably keep lawyers, bankers and diplomats busy for years to come. Last week U.S. and Iranian negotiating teams met in the velvet-lined boardroom of the Palace of Peace in The Hague to begin carrying out the most controversial feature of that agreement: arbitration of their respective corporate and private financial claims.

Under the terms of the deal, President Carter barred American citizens or companies from suing Iran in U.S. courts. Instead, all American claims were to be submitted to an "arbitration panel" consisting of three Americans, three Iranians and three independent members. The same panel was to process Iran's counterclaims. American claims judged to be valid would be paid out of a special "security account," funded with $1 billion of the estimated $12 billion in Iranian assets that had been frozen in U.S. banks for 14 months.

Of the remaining Iranian assets that were unfrozen, nearly $8 billion was originally delivered to an escrow account in the Bank of England pending release of the hostages. Shortly after the 52 returned home, Iran used part of the money to repay about $3.7 billion in syndicated international loans. Another $1.4 billion went into a second escrow fund to liquidate loans from individual banks. Thus Iran has directly received only about $2.87 billion so far—a paltry sum compared with the $24 billion "ransom" that Tehran's revolutionary regime had originally demanded. In addition, some $2.3 billion in Iranian assets remains in U.S. banks pending court decisions concerning the numerous attachments on these funds. This money might ultimately be used to satisfy American claims.

Last week's arbitration proceedings began at a snail's pace. The first order of business was to choose the panel's three neutral members. Led by Lawyer and veteran Negotiator George Aldrich, the U.S. team put forward several names. But the Iranian delegates, led by Spokesman Seyyed Hossein Enayat, initially made no suggestions at all; thus the selection process seemed certain to continue into this week. Iranian foot dragging only complicated an already knotty set of problems. For one thing, there is a staggering total of more than 2,000 American claims to process. Another hitch: many U.S. claimants are threatening to challenge the constitutionality of Carter's order barring suits against Iran. Until the Supreme Court rules on that question, the funds that Iran still has in U.S. banks will remain tied up. International efforts to untangle all these snarls, U.S. Negotiator Aldrich predicted, "will likely last for years." ■

EL SALVADOR

# Enforced Justice

## *The U.S. presses for progress*

The slim, soft-spoken waitress was on duty last January when it happened. Two gunmen suddenly appeared in San Salvador's Sheraton Hotel and shot to death Michael Hammer and Mark David Pearlman, two American labor lawyers, and José Rodolfo Viera, head of the country's controversial land-reform program. Despite the public nature of the killings, TIME Correspondent James Willwerth has learned that if the U.S. Government had not tracked down the waitress, bolstered her courage, persuaded her to testify and actively pressured the Salvadoran government, authorities would not have arrested Ricardo Sol Meza, a wealthy industrialist, and Hans Christ, a businessman. Christ was picked up by the FBI in Miami and is now being held pending the outcome of extradition proceedings.

Salvadoran detectives summoned to the Sheraton Hotel after the shootings of Hammer, Pearlman and Viera managed to find not a single witness. But an American diplomat breakfasting in the Sheraton shortly afterward asked his waitress, Teresa Torres, if she had seen anything the night of the killings. "If I did," the woman replied, "I'm afraid they would kill me."

After further conversations in the coffee shop, Torres was finally persuaded by the diplomat to tell her story to U.S. embassy officials. She was then flown to Washington for protection and lodged with an official of the AFL-CIO, under whose auspices Hammer and Pearlman had been working on land reform when they were murdered. The labor organization has offered a $50,000 reward for information leading to their killers. While in Washington, Torres passed a polygraph test and convinced U.S. officials that she was a truthful witness.

As a result, Frederic Chapin, the American chargé d'affaires in San Salvador, persuaded President José Napoleón Duarte to back a further investigation. Worried about her safety, U.S. officials based Torres in Washington and flew her to Central America for the proceedings.

Torres was interviewed by Arturo Argumedo, the Salvadoran Attorney General. In later interrogations she was treated with the hostility that Salvadoran officials often direct at witnesses. She was told that her name would be made public and that the Salvadoran government could not protect her. Moreover, the judge assigned to the case quit in fear of his life.

Despite all this, Torres testified that she had seen Sol Meza and Christ in the corridor leading to the dining room before the killings. They were making hand signals to someone outside, and she thought Christ was speaking into a radio or walkie-talkie. After the shots, she ran into the dining room and found the two men standing over the bodies.

Though both Sol Meza and Christ maintained their innocence, Torres' testimony caused them to be put under "provisional arrest," but that was only the beginning of a lengthy judicial process that could last a year or more and may or may not lead to a trial. To win conviction in a Salvadoran court, another witness is considered essential to corroborate Torres' testimony. Salvadoran prosecutors hint that they may produce one soon.

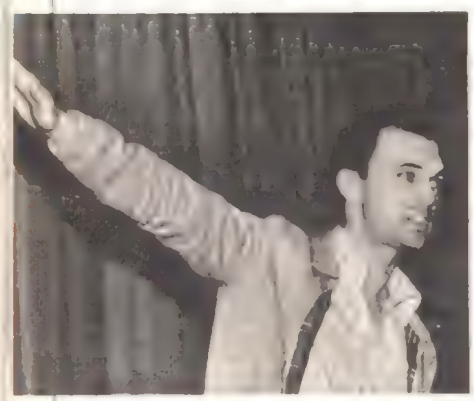
U.S. officials also finally managed, four weeks ago, to pressure the foot-dragging Salvadorans into arresting six soldiers in the other murder case involving Americans: the killings of three nuns and one woman lay missionary last December. The Salvadoran government clearly fears that U.S. aid may be endangered if it does not try far harder than usual to bring the slayers of Americans to justice. "We have hundreds of Salvadoran victims," says Attorney General Argumedo, "but we are investigating the deaths of foreigners because we need foreign help. Morally speaking, these crimes are not more serious than many others." ■

BRITAIN

# Shouting Out for Marxism

*Labor's radical voices resound with stridency—and division*

"We are facing the worst economic crisis in living memory," roared Marxist Union Leader Arthur Scargill. "Young people are being thrown on the scrap heap. We have to take the fight for jobs into the streets!" As Scargill stepped back from the podium, his audience of 2,000 Young Socialists jumped to their feet and broke into wild applause. Assembled at the seaside resort of Bridlington for their annual conference, the young foot soldiers of the Marxist left spent three days berating the established order. They joined in choruses of the worldwide revolutionary anthem, the *Internationale*. After each refrain, they raised their fists in a defiant salute and chanted: "Thatcher out! Out! Out!"



**Radical chieftains exhorting a conference of Young Socialists: Youth Leader Bevan; Ideologue Ted Grant, and Union Boss Andy Scargill**

*After years of being humored as youthful zealots playing in the sandbox of extremism, the militants are now viewed with true concern.*

The walls inside the Spa Royal Hall were plastered with slogans depicting an array of causes: LABOR TO POWER WITH SOCIALIST POLICIES! NO CRUISE MISSILES HERE! U.S. HANDS OFF EL SALVADOR! Militant speakers went on to protest Prince Charles' upcoming wedding as a lavish indulgence at a time of high unemployment. Complained one: "This flaunting of wealth is obscene." Finally, with a lordly flourish, Andy Bevan, 29, the Young Socialists' national secretary, sounded the clarion call: "Comrades! We're at the beginning of the beginning. We see the workers flexing their muscles against unemployment and mass misery. They seek a workers' democracy like Lenin and Trotsky sought to build!"

This was all sloganeering hyperbole, to be sure. But there is little question that the Marxist left currently commands more influence than it has ever had since the Labor Party was founded in 1920. In the past year the Marxists have gained control of much of the party's machinery from its aging, moderately left leadership. They have forced rules changes that give them unprecedented power in the selection of the party leader—and potential Prime Minister—as well as strong leverage over Labor's elected representatives.

In local elections in May, militant leftists took control of London's municipal administration and installed a 35-year-old radical politician, Ken Livingstone, as leader of the Greater London Council.

Most disturbing to Britons is the fact that the radical leftists have injected many of their views into the party's national platform. Among them: withdrawal of Britain from the European Community, unilateral nuclear disarmament, nationalization of all major British industry, and abolition of the House of Lords. Recoiling from the aggressive left's surprising ascendancy, four former Labor Cabinet ministers and a group of sympathetic M.P.s broke away last February to form their own center-left Social Democratic Party. Protested Shirley Williams, longtime Labor frontbencher and dissident leader: "The party I loved and worked for over so many years no longer exists."

After years of being seen as youthful zealots playing in the sandbox of extremism, the Marxist militants are now viewed with true concern. Said former Prime Minister Harold Wilson: "I share the nausea of a majority seeing that claque of ultra-left thugs raising their clenched fists." Labor's Deputy Party Leader Denis Healey observed, "The time has come to say to those who are wrecking our movement now what Clem Attlee said to those who tried to play the same game before the election of 1945: 'A period of silence from you would be welcome.' "

No such silence is likely. Though militant activists probably number no more than 10,000—less than 5% of Labor's 220,000-strong party membership—they have penetrated all levels of British political life. They range from the elected Members of Parliament who serve on the party's national executive committee to veteran Marxist union leaders; from the polytechnic-educated civil servants of the left's ideological front, Militant Tendency, to the radical leaders of local parties and the rhetoric-spewing Young Socialists, the tireless proselytizing foot soldiers of the movement. Though their roles vary, the players on the leftist stage equal one another in stridency and aggressiveness. The left's chief pillars:

**The Standardbearer.** Labor M.P. and former Cabinet Minister Tony Benn, though he refuses to label himself a Marxist, has supported the militants at every turn. The meticulously courteous and aristocratic Benn, who sips tea from an earthenware mug as a gesture to the working people he has chosen to represent, insists that "capitalism is a spent force." In a bold attempt to position himself to take over as party leader after Michael Foot, Benn is challenging moderate Deputy Leader Healey for the party's No. 2 post. The showdown promises to be a bitter one. Radical socialism, Benn argues, "is not some new thing, not a foreign import that comes in by courtesy of Mr. Brezhnev. It's part of our tradition." Benn defends unilateral nuclear disarmament on the grounds that "we do not believe that an American President, whom we did not elect and cannot remove, should have the power of peace and war by firing missiles from our airfields." Says he: "It is time to make it clear where the Labor Party stands."

**The Union Boss.** If any one figure epitomizes the new aggressiveness of the organized Marxist left, it is "King Arthur" Scargill, the militant president of the Yorkshire Miners. A strong contender to become president of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers next year, Scar-

gill, 43, is baldly contemptuous of the Labor Party's right wing. Says he: "We need them like a tree needs Dutch elm disease." Scargill grew up poor in Yorkshire, where in 1961 he spent his first date with his future wife at a Young Communist League debate. He has turned the Barnsley constituency in southern Yorkshire into an extension of his union fiefdom by waging all-out war on Labor right-winger and 27-year parliamentary veteran M.P. Roy Mason. "The last Labor government failed to carry out basic socialist policies," says Scargill. "It failed to impose a wealth tax, failed to abolish the House of Lords, failed to take into common ownership the means of production." Staunchly anti-American, Scargill blasts the U.S. for stationing troops in Europe and accuses the CIA of fomenting the workers' rebellion in Poland. Says he: "They're trying to overthrow socialism."

**The Ideologue.** Ted Grant, 67, a South African–born revolutionary, is the spiritual leader of Militant Tendency, the group of perhaps 5,000 activists that helped engineer the leftist putsch against Labor's moderates. Militant Tendency claims that it draws its strength, in part, from the backing of some 95% of the Young Socialists' 10,000-odd supporters; it is also credited with at least some control over nearly half of Labor's 635 local constituency parties. The genial Grant is confident that the time has come for the Marxist left. "There was a time when we were a tiny handful of voices crying out in the wilderness," he explains in his spartan office in London's decaying East End. "Now there is a crisis in capitalism on a world scale. When the Labor Party and trade unions are controlled by Marxists, a peaceful transformation of this country will be possible." And if the government should deem it necessary to use force against insurgent leftists? "Then we'll defend by force," he says grimly. Grant attributes to Leon Trotsky the dictum "Nobody, nobody can change the will of the working class to change society!" In fact, he says, the only place society really worked was "in the early days of Russia, from 1917 to 1923." He favors dismantling the British monarchy, but insists he would not want the royal family abandoned altogether. Says Grant with an ironic twinkle: "We would give them jobs as caretakers looking after the palaces."

**Organizers.** "Red Ted" Knight, an avowed Marxist and mentor to the Greater London Council's Ken Livingstone, is head of London's Lambeth borough council. He loudly protested police action during the riots, mostly by blacks, in Lambeth's Brixton section in April. Said he: "Lambeth is now under an army of occupation. Steps are being taken by the police to set up the same apparatus of surveillance as one sees in concentration camps." A fastidious dresser who drives a BMW, Knight is an unlikely looking street radical, but it is from the pavements that he draws his support. He has been widely accused of exploiting racial tensions in an attempt to rally radicals to his council campaign. Though he was thrown out of the Labor Party in the mid-'50s for being active in the Socialist Labor League, he was readmitted in the early '70s

**The Foot Soldiers.** The firebrand Young Socialists provide the manpower for recruiting drives on factory floors and in local parties. "We're becoming enormously attractive to working-class youth," claims Laurence Coates, 22, an unemployed school janitor elected as Young Socialist representative to the Labor Party's 30-member national executive committee. "We're not a 'mass' force, but we're growing."

Among the converted is Margaret Reavey, 25, a public housing office receptionist in Gateshead, on the northeast coast, who became a Marxist in sympathy for the miners' strike that helped topple the Conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath in 1974. "You don't go to bed at night and wake up a Marxist," explains Reavey. "It comes through experience. I disliked what Heath and the Tories stood for."

Another young devotee, Sam Brown, 22, lived in Nottingham with his Jamaican-born parents before moving to London's Streatham district. He traces his radicalism to being black. As a member of the Young Socialists' London organization, Brown passed out leaflets during the Brixton riots urging young blacks and whites to protest police repression. Says Brown: "I'm a Marxist because that's the way people like me progress."

The Young Socialist canon comprises equal parts of rage against the Thatcher government and extremist idealism. Young Socialists demand full employment, a 35-hour work week and a guaranteed annual minimum wage of $9,434; the group would also curb "militarism" by creating soldiers' unions, free elections of officers and mandatory retirement of all generals currently in service. Notes Antimilitarist Coates: "Real Communism would make Brezhnev choke."

For all their noisy and strident confidence, the Marxist left has also suffered some setbacks. Labor's impressive showing in the recent local elections, in which Conservatives lost control in 23 of 54 counties, has given some encouragement to party moderates. Michael Foot used the occasion to proclaim that "the alternative government of the country is in a pretty healthy state."

Benn's candidacy for deputy party leader caused fierce controversy among members of Labor's left-wing Tribune Group, which has tried to persuade him to reconsider his plans. The reason: leftists within the party are afraid that a defeat for Benn at the annual Labor Party conference next September will mean a setback for their policies. Says leftist M.P. Eric Heffer, who up until now has been a staunch supporter of Benn: "We must not believe that any one individual must be blindly followed."

Benn has adamantly refused to back down. A full-scale intraparty war over his challenge now seems inevitable. Already the lines are being drawn in the unions, where leftist support for Benn is concentrated at the shop steward level. Most union barons, who wield unprecedented power over the selection of party leaders under the new rules, are inclined to support Healey. Electricians Union Chief Frank Chapple, a right-wing maverick, has gone so far as to call Benn a "little Stalin advocating a socialist commonwealth along the lines of Russia and Eastern Europe." The struggle ahead for the Labor Party will be long and divisive. Benn's candidacy has gathered enough steam to mute opposition from fellow militants for the moment. Ultimately the outcome could depend not so much on whether the moderates can defend themselves, but on whether the left can stay unified when real political power is within its reach. *—By Russ Hoyle. Reported by Bonnie Angelo and Arthur White/London*

**Crowd of leftist demonstrators protesting Thatcher immigration policies in Trafalgar Square**

*"They seek a workers' democracy like Lenin and Trotsky sought to build."*

# Bringing the Viet Nam Vets Home

For a long time now, the chief ceremonial function of Memorial Day has been simply to inform Americans that their summer has begun. Of course, residual touches of drum-thumping Americana still cling to the occasion—men in deep middle age parading up and down the holiday, strutting the flag. It is a formal rite of remembering, but remembering at a major distance. In their V.F.W. or American Legion caps the old soldiers have long since made peace with their generation's war. They have worn their memories of combat smooth with the retelling. They have grown easy with what they did for their country as young men; they won, and they are proud of it. The horrors that they saw—or performed—so long ago in other countries have been effaced by time, by the approval of history and of the nation they fought for.

The soldiers who fought America's latest and longest war, in Viet Nam, do not participate very often in Memorial Day parades. The U.S. has not developed a moral context for them yet, and no one parades without a moral context. A nation does not fondly celebrate the memory of its convulsions.

Viet Nam arrived in the American mind like some strange, violent hallucination, just when the nation was most prosperous and ambitious, shooting spaceships at the moon. Sweet America cracked open like a geode. The bizarre catastrophe of that war shattered so much in American life (pride in country, faith in government, the idea of manhood and the worth of the dollar, to begin the list) that even now the damage has not yet been properly assessed. When the country came to, some time in the mid-'70s, it was stunned. In moral recoil from the military failure and the huge, lurid futility of the excursion, Americans did a humanly understandable thing: they suppressed the memory of Viet Nam. They tried to recover from the wound by denying it.

But of course the veterans of Viet Nam were tangible evidence, the breathing testimony, that it had all been humiliatingly real. Whether walking straight or riding wheelchairs, whether prospering at their work or glaring out at the rest of the nation from a daze of rage and drugs and night sweats, they reminded America that the war had cost and that it had hurt. For years, at least some part of every Viet Nam veteran has inhabited a limbo of denial—the nation's or his own—often overcome by guilt and shame, and almost always by anger. Among other things, he has tended to think of himself as an awful sucker to have risked so much for so little. Most veterans (contrary to stereotype) have readjusted reasonably well to the civilian world. But many found that coming home was harder than fighting the war.

After World War I and World War II, the soldiers returned together with their units; they had the long trip back in which to hear each other's confessions and apologies. And of course the piers in New York or San Francisco were crammed with waiting wives and children, the grateful nation craning to get a look at its boys, its heroes. During Viet Nam, in keeping with an almost sinister Government tendency to treat the war as an elaborate bureaucratic illusion, the military shipped people out alone and brought them back alone. The process caused surreal dislocations: one day in a firefight in I Corps, the next day standing on the American tarmac somewhere, as if nothing had happened. One veteran remembers the awful solitude of homecoming: "They let us off on the Oakland side of the Bay Bridge. I had to hitchhike to the San Francisco airport because of a transit strike." The Americans who fought in Viet Nam responded when their country asked them to give up their freedom and possibly their lives to do violence in the name of something the Government deemed right. Veteran Ron Kovic's painful book *Born on the Fourth of July* described how the image of John Wayne unreeling in the adolescent mind functioned as recruiting poster and subliminal role model. In any case, they went. But psychically at least, the country did not want them back.

**After the hostages' release, Ron Kovic protests and a veteran reclaims the flag; anger over Agent Orange**

Now that may be changing. A new attitude seems to be developing, in both Viet Nam veterans and the nation at large. Americans seem more disposed than at any time in the 13 years since the Tet offensive to admit that the Viet Nam veterans have borne too much of the moral burden for a war that went all wrong. If there is a burden to be carried, it should be assigned to the men who conceived and directed the war; or, more broadly, it should be shared—in the most profound explorations of which they are capable—by all Americans, including those who went to Canada.

The denial has been peeling away slowly for several years. An odd breakthrough occurred last January after the extravagantly emotional, almost giddy welcome home that America staged for the 52 hostages from Iran. The nation was an orgy of yellow ribbons and misting eyes. But then, a few days later, a countertheme surfaced. Viet Nam veterans watched the spectacle of welcome (the routes of motorcades lined with cheering, weeping Americans, the nation glued to its TV sets, the new President doing the hostages proud in the Rose Garden), and their years of bitterness boiled up to a choked cry: WHERE THE HELL IS MY PARADE? The nation, flushed from its some-

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what too easy outpouring over the hostages, began acquiring the grace to admit that the Viet Nam veterans had a point.

Perhaps, too, enough history has passed to allow the country to proceed to the next stage, to acknowledge the Viet Nam veterans without setting off a civil war or a national nervous breakdown. Fresh history has added a few new perspectives. Ronald Reagan, who last August described Viet Nam as a "noble cause," nonetheless proposed to eliminate $691 million in benefits for the Viet Nam veterans, including $30 million for the 91 valuable and even lifesaving storefront veterans' counseling centers around the country. Congress will probably save the counseling centers and some other benefits, and lobbying groups like the Viet Nam Veterans of America may find allies now among the voters who were not there before.

It is difficult to generalize about the Viet Nam veteran. The TV scriptwriter's vision in the '70s pictured him as a damply sweating crazo-junkie who would erupt toward the end of the plot line and grease half of Southern California. A veteran named Glen Young took an elevator to a job interview recently and had a fellow passenger ask: "Are you one of the baby killers?"

A comprehensive group portrait of the veterans has become available in the past few weeks. The Veterans Administration has published a five-volume study of Viet Nam veterans by the Center for Policy Research in New York City. Viet Nam veterans, the study concluded, have been paying a disproportionate social price for their experience. The war tore loose the wiring in many of their lives.

But it is a mistake to view all Viet Nam veterans as profoundly troubled, as walking wounded. About half of the veterans, the study found, still carry disturbing, unsettling psychic baggage from Viet Nam. Even so, most cope pretty well. Americans may now be too quick to indulge in a "Lo, the Poor Vet" rhetoric. Dr. Arthur Egendorf, a Viet Nam veteran and a psychologist who was a principal author of the study, points out that those who pity Viet Nam veterans simply relegate them to the role of victim (which is not much help to the veterans). Liberals use their pity to help prove that the war was wrong. Some veterans, denied respect, make do with pity, and even trade on it. But that is sad.

HENRI HUET—AP

A wounded medic in Viet Nam, 1966

Was the Viet Nam experience unique for those who fought it? History would have to go on a manically inventive jag to top Viet Nam for wild, lethal ironies and stage effects—"a black looneytune," Writer Michael Herr called it in his Viet Nam masterpiece *Dispatches*. Indochina became the demented intersection of a bizarrely inventive killer technology (all of those "daisy cutters" and carpet-laying B-52s and mad swarms of choppers and infra-red nightscopes) with a tunnel-digging peasantry in rubber-tire sandals: the amazing, night-dwelling Victor Charlie.

Still, Viet Nam was not unique in its effects upon the men who fought there. From Odysseus onward, almost all soldiers have come back angry from war. And they have had problems. In Elizabethan England, a disbandment of armies automatically meant a major increase in the number of thieves and highwaymen preying on civilians. In fact, veterans are almost always treated badly after a war, even if the brass bands do turn out for a ceremonial welcome home. During the '20s, the windows of the nation's pawnshops were filled with soldiers' medals for heroism from the Great War. Catiline, Hitler and Mussolini constructed their sinister power bases upon the grievances of veterans.

The fact is that fighting a war, any war, is a grisly, shattering business. Many men take years to recover from it; many never do. Curiously, societies almost always neglect their veterans for the first ten years after a war. Then the veterans get themselves organized into a political force (like the Grand Army of the Republic after the Civil War or the V.F.W. and American Legion after World War I) and politically extract the benefits and pensions that civilian gratitude or pity never got around to bestowing.

But Viet Nam was different from other American wars in one crucial respect: the U.S. lost it. When a man soldiers on the winning side, the social contract of arms holds up: the young conscript is asked to endure all discomforts of the field, including death, but if he returns, the grateful nation (though it may soon grow indifferent) promises at least a banal ration of glory, a ceremonious welcome, the admiring opinion of his fellow citizens. Sometime between Tet and the last helicopter off the embassy roof in 1975, America threw away its social contract with the soldiers and left them to straggle back into the society as best they could. A lot of them have still not made it.

But Americans can renegotiate the contract, can extract lessons and meaning from the disaster. They might begin by trying to help Viet Nam veterans restore their lives. Many veterans say that it is too late for rhetoric, too late for symbols such as the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial that will be built not far from the Lincoln Memorial next year. Such vets want concrete help: more assistance finding jobs, more time to use the G.I. Bill. They should get it. There is something notably irresponsible about a Government that dispatches its young to be chewed up in an obscure land and then does not know their names when it all goes bad. Among other things, that sort of disloyalty may make it difficult to recruit the young for future military enterprises.

But symbols and rhetoric are also incalculably important. The hostages' return last January, with its powerful, complex effects, was all ceremony and TV. Many veterans want chiefly to be thanked for what they did, for doing as their nation asked. They crave an acknowledgment, a respect from their fellow Americans that they have never had and may never get. The victor always gets respect, even if it is of a shallow and predictable kind. The veterans of Viet Nam are entitled to a deeper, different respect: the kind that goes to someone who has endured deep anguish, even failure, and survived.

Viet Nam still chokes Americans. The nation will not recover from it, or learn from all of that slaughter and guilt, until it acknowledges that the men who fought the nation's first teen-age war (average age: 19.2 years) did not cook up that war themselves in a mischievous moment. That was all of America out there. "It was a collective enterprise," says Dr. Egendorf, "and we were *all* damaged by it. A family melodrama is still going on. Sometimes a psychologist cannot treat the individual alone; he must see the whole family together."

America lost 56,480 men in Viet Nam, the last irreclaimable body count. The nation also misplaced many thousands of men and women who did make it home. To embrace them now may be a complicated, belated and awkward exercise, but it should be done—done with a clear historical eye, without pity or jingo or other illusions. It would mitigate an injustice and might even improve the nation's collective mental health. It would help to settle America's tedious quarrel with itself. Americans should be able to repeat Robert Lowell's line in a calm inward murmur: "My eyes have seen what my hand did."

*—By Lance Morrow*

# The Outlook Brightens

## TIME's *Board of Economists sees lower inflation and continued growth*

There were a few refreshing signs of an economic spring last week, with even a soft summer breeze to be felt here and there. The Commerce Department revised its figure for the growth of the economy during the first quarter from a strong annual rate of 6.5% to an almost heady one of 8.4%. That was the highest level of economic expansion in more than two years. The Commerce Department also announced that housing starts for April rose 4.2% to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1.3 million units, *vs.* 1 million a year ago. Unemployment is holding steady at 7.3% of the work force, slightly below January's level. Even inflation showed signs of daydreaming: consumer prices increased at an annual rate of 4.9% in April, down from March's 7.4%.

The members of the TIME Board of Economists, which met last week in Manhattan, gave a much more upbeat view of the health of American business activity than they had presented at their last meeting in early February. Their outlook for the rest of 1981 is now generally favorable. The word recession is nowhere in their prognosis, although terms like pause and soggy remain.

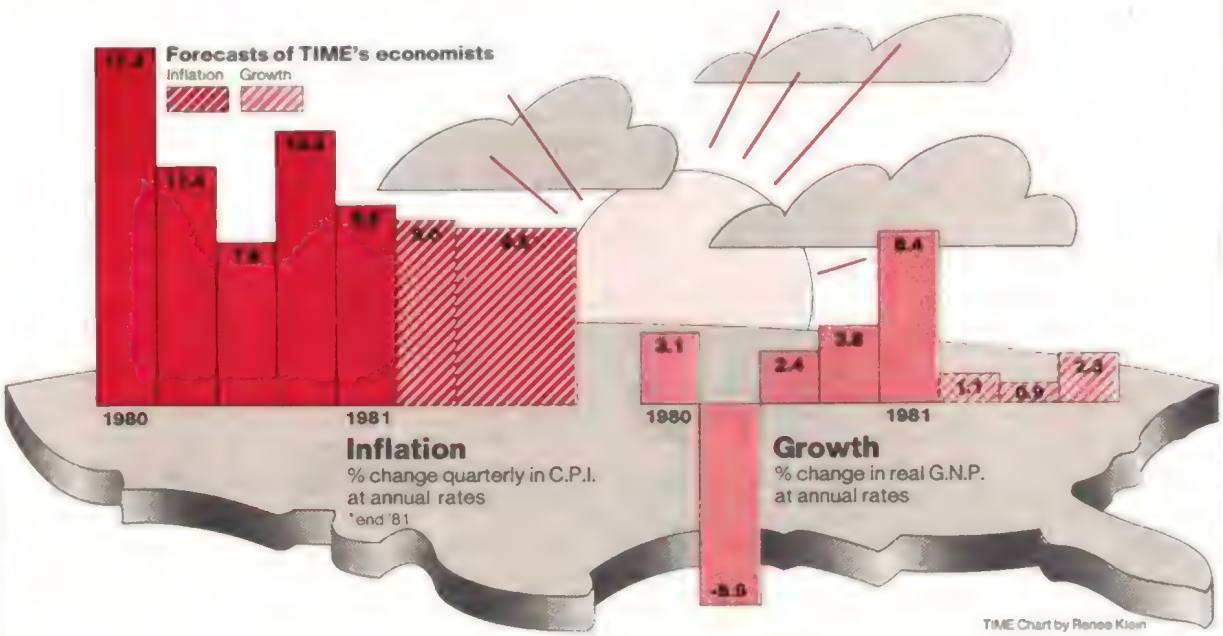
But as if to show that the economy is in far from perfect health, most major banks raised the bench mark prime lending rate first from 19.5% to 20% and then to 20.5%, a mere 1% below the record set last December. The banks were reacting to ongoing U.S. Federal Reserve attempts to tighten credit and rein in the money supply, thus slowing the economy in order to restrain price increases.

Perhaps the most encouraging forecast by the board members is for a slowdown in inflation. They predict that it will end the year at around an 8.6% annual rate, *vs.* 13.2% for the last quarter of 1980. The small surplus in world petroleum markets is now keeping a tight grip on oil prices, and that will remove one of the key causes of recent inflation *(see box)*. Homeownership costs, which account for about one-fourth of the consumer price index, are up from a year ago, but the increases are tapering off because sales are slow. Good crops and heavy livestock production so far this year should moderate food price increases in the months ahead. Finally, a stronger U.S. dollar will make the costs of imported goods lower and keep pressure on domestic companies to hold down their prices. Walter Heller, President Kennedy's chief economic adviser, concludes that the U.S. is "virtually guaranteed a lull in inflation for most of the year."

The board's members warned, however, that the economy's strong growth in the first quarter, which surprised almost all American economists, was due to factors that have now largely played themselves out. The supply of money in circulation expanded rapidly in the last half of 1980 as loans to consumers and businesses climbed. Interest rates, which had peaked in late December, declined in the early part of the year, and that too helped push growth

The weather was favorable in many parts of the country this winter, and this helped spur buying from late 1980 into January and February. At the same time, businessmen sought to halt the rapid decline in inventories that occurred in the final months of 1980. The resulting increase in production, outside of autos, accounted for almost half of the first quarter surge. Concluded Charles Schultze, President Carter's chief economic adviser: "This economy is a lot more resilient in the face of higher interest rates than we ever thought."

Murray Weidenbaum, chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers and former member of the TIME board, was a guest at last week's session. He described the first quarter as part of the "Reagan honeymoon." Acknow-



**The board in session: from left, Walter Heller, Charles Schultze, Alan Greenspan and Murray Weidenbaum, Reagan's chief economist**

ledging the special factors involved in the business surge, Weidenbaum said that he did not expect such vigor to last. The Reagan Administration's revised economic forecast, which will be issued in July, is likely to show an economy only slightly stronger than its February prediction. Said he: "I expect that real growth this year will be a bit higher than 1.1%, and inflation will be a bit lower than the 11.1% we predicted. I also still anticipate some rise in the unemployment rate during the course of this year."

The major factor holding back robust growth is those staggering interest rates. Board members expect the Federal Reserve to keep the cost of money high for some time to come. The board's consensus: interest rates will stay up, although they will ease a little by autumn. This will hold the economy's real growth for the current quarter to 1.1% and to less than 1% during the summer. The gain for the year as a whole is now expected to be 2.9%. In the gentlest terms, that amounts to a pause later in the year. Lester Thurow, M.I.T. professor of economics and management, calls such growth soggy.

Nevertheless, many unknowns hang over the economy. One is whether the $36 billion in spending cuts already approved in the congressional budget resolution will be translated into much reduced spending. If the cuts are not actually made in specific programs, the resulting deficit would likely cause additional inflationary pressures. When the details of what is to be cut work their way through various congressional committees, there will be delays and compromises, as politicians come face to face with the reality of doing less for the folks back home. But Joseph Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, believes that total cuts will still add up to as much as $30 billion. Said he: "I would certainly give the Congress an A-minus for that."

The TIME board also raised questions about the Administration's second round of budget cuts, notably those involving Social Security. No member of the TIME board contests that the Social Security system is in trouble. At current payout rates, the Social Security trust fund could run out of money by late 1982. There was sharp disagreement, though, with the Reagan Administration's remedy. One part of it calls for limiting the benefits of early retirees. Pechman expressed concern that the proposal would mean harsh treatment for such people.

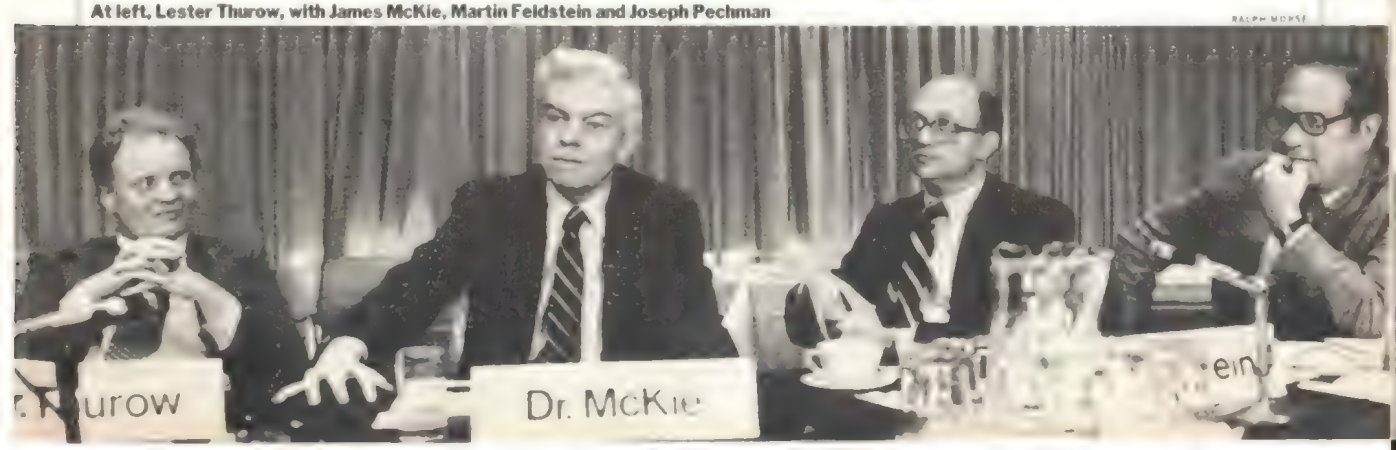
The Administration is already showing signs of backing off on that proposal, which has met with sharp disapproval in the Republican-controlled Senate. Last week the Senate passed by a 96-0 vote a "sense of Congress" resolution voicing opposition to key parts of the Reagan plan. But that still leaves the question of what to do to keep the Social Security program from going bankrupt. Martin Feldstein, professor of economics at Harvard and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, pointed out that benefits to Social Security recipients have risen by 30% since 1970, while the buying power of people still working has decreased by 10% because of inflation. Said Feldstein: "We must find ways to get the level of benefits down." Alan Greenspan, an economic adviser to both Presidents Ford and Reagan, pointed out that Social Security has become "less of an insurance program and more of a welfare program." All the Administration was trying to do, he said, was to "restore some sanity to the system."

Tax cuts are also an important part of the Reagan economic program. But no member of the board now believes that the Administration's proposal for a 10% cut in personal income taxes in each of the next three years stands much of a chance in Congress. They see the proposal as inflationary, a feeling that is strengthened by the year's strong first quarter. But the board still agreed that some tax cuts are necessary. Harvard's Feldstein pointed out that the Administration's proposed cuts would do little more than offset "bracket creep," which has pushed people into higher tax categories even though their real incomes after inflation have not risen. Feldstein predicted that there is likely to be pressure for "real tax cuts" later on, after Americans realize that they are no further ahead in buying power.

Feldstein and the other board members agreed that the tax cuts as now proposed would do little to boost savings to a level where they would provide the Administration's promised thrust toward industrial renewal. A more effective way of doing that would be to allow individuals to open tax-deductible retirement accounts whether or not they were covered by private pension plans. Another, says Feldstein, would be to increase exclusions for dividends and interest received to $1,000 or even $2,000 from the current $200 per person, which he regards as "too trivial to be much of an incentive."

Pechman warned that the Reagan tax

**At left, Lester Thurow, with James McKie, Martin Feldstein and Joseph Pechman**



cut program in fiscal 1984 would take away $150 billion in revenues from the Government, leaving no room for savings incentives or such other popular proposals as elimination of the marriage penalty, lowering the top tax bracket from 70% to 50% on unearned income and raising the standard tax deduction. Pechman predicted that the bill finally emerging from Congress would be a mix of those features plus a much smaller cut in personal income tax rates.

The net effect of all the budget and tax cuts now either enacted or seen as having a chance of passage in Congress could lower the federal budget deficit to around $50 billion by the end of fiscal 1982, from the $60 billion or so projected for the current fiscal year, ending Sept. 30. But budget deficits in the past have often grown rapidly during the course of the spending year, and some Wall Street moneymen are fearful that the 1982 deficit may eventually be much larger than now predicted.

While Congress and the President duel over the size of budget cuts and tax cuts, Economist Thurow is concerned that the Administration's scheduled $181 billion annual net increase in defense spending during the next five years will cause major disruption in the economy. He argues that it will draw money away from the civilian sector, lavish most of the benefits on the prosperous Sunbelt aerospace industry and drain skilled workers from the private sector. Worse still, he believes, the defense buildup will harm U.S. competitiveness abroad, as the Japanese and West Germans, who already spend much less than the U.S. on defense, divert even more of their capacity toward producing better products for the civilian economy.

The crunch between military and private demands, predicts Thurow, could come in 1983 in the form of "direct head-to-head competition" for money, skills and resources like cement. Thurow argues that constructing MX missile sites could consume a substantial amount of U.S. cement production for the next decade. Says he: "No one has really thought about these things."

Other members of the TIME board, however, do not believe the defense buildup would cause an economic upheaval like that during the Viet Nam escalation of the mid-'60s, which set off the roaring inflation that has plagued the U.S. ever since. Schultze, who was the Federal Budget Director during the early Viet Nam period, said that the present circumstances are "quite different." The U.S. economy was then in the middle of a long and strong expansion, while now it is in a period of sluggish growth. Said Schultze: "Everything then went together to give us a big inflationary impact. I just don't think the current military buildup fits into the same situation."

Experts studying an economy look not only at obscure statistics but also at the broader direction of business. Those signals of economic momentum are now much more encouraging than only a few months ago. After years of going nowhere but up, inflation is now heading down a little. Although growth will not remain as strong as in the first quarter, it will be better this year than expected. The long, hard economic winter is not over, but the first real hints of a spring are there.

*—By John S. DeMott*

# OPEC over a Barrel

After years of climbing up and up, petroleum prices have begun to show the first signs of slipping and sliding. Moreover, the 13-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which meets in Geneva this week for its semiannual price-setting conference, does not now appear able to do much about it.

That was the encouraging message offered by TIME's Board of Economists. Members were confident that, barring some new reduction in supply, such as first occurred in the wake of the Iranian revolution and later during the Iran-Iraq war, prices will remain stable for perhaps the next 18 months or so. Said Energy Economist James McKie of the University of Texas, who joined the TIME board last week: "I think the cartel will maintain a real price in 1980 dollars of around $35 per bbl. I don't anticipate that there will be any major decline below that level. But in the absence of some new supply disruption, I do not think that there is going to be much increase above it either."

The slowdown or halt in price increases has been caused by a minisurplus of petroleum, which has created a strong downward pressure on prices. One oil company after another is shaving the prices it will pay for crude. Exxon and Mobil, the two largest American producers, have instituted automatic cutbacks of about $2 per bbl. in the prices that they will pay to independent domestic suppliers.

Last week the OPEC oil ministers were trying to reach a consensus prior to the Geneva meeting. One proposal: Saudi Arabia, the free world's largest oil producer, would increase its prices slightly if countries like Libya and Nigeria, which have been charging almost $10 per bbl. more for oil than the Saudis, would agree to lower their prices. In addition, Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani suggested that the cost of crude be frozen until the end of 1982.

OPEC's sales are slumping in part because the sky-high cost of crude has made consumers far more conscious about conservation than almost anyone had thought possible. In the U.S., consumption has dropped by 6.2% from year-earlier levels, and imports have slumped by more than one-fifth, to about 5.4 million bbl. daily.

In McKie's view, much more conservation is still possible. Said he: "We have shown an extraordinary ability to conserve oil and other forms of energy. Given enough time to install the technology, and to revise old habits, we can expect the gains brought on by conservation to continue and to be a strong additional element, helping to maintain stable real prices for oil."

The prospects for oil price restraint were further brightened during the week by the release of an unexpectedly optimistic Central Intelligence Agency assessment of Soviet oil production potential through the 1980s. Four years ago, the agency had predicted that growing Soviet need for oil would force that country to import as much as 3.5 million bbl. daily from non-Communist suppliers by the mid-1980s, thus placing grave new strains on the world petroleum market. But last week the agency contradicted its original assessment of Soviet production capacity and revised the estimates upward, suggesting that the Soviet Union will remain self-sufficient in oil until at least 1990. By that time, perhaps, OPEC will be looked upon not as an economic menace to the world but as merely a tolerable annoyance.

# Bad Days at the Box Office

*Hollywood bosses look for new profits in entertainment*

Movie executives this year are feeling as if they have just had a close encounter of the first kind with *Jaws*. March and April were the worst months for movie attendance in a decade. So far in 1981, admissions have fallen approximately 15% below last year's lackluster performance.

The somber mood extended last week all the way to Cannes, where key industry figures from around the world gathered for the annual wheeling and movie dealing at the industry's premier film festival. High-rolling producers like Richard Zanuck still vied for choice tables at sidewalk cafés along the Boulevard de la Croisette, while aspiring starlets jousted for the attention of the camera-toting *paparazzi*. But *Variety* summed up the atmosphere in the headline: LACK OF ZEST AT CANNES FILM FEST.

What the movie business needs, everyone agrees, is a new blockbuster. That is what it got last week, but this one was not another *Star Wars*. It was the purchase by MGM of United Artists from Transamerica Corp. for $380 million.

The deal was part of the radical transformation currently taking place in the movie business. New technology, including video-tape recorders, video cassettes and cable television, are rapidly being installed in millions of American homes, and movie studios are trying to determine how their wide-screen extravaganzas will fit into the world of the smaller home screen. Moreover, the studios are finding that the vast libraries of old films in their vaults can be valuable bargaining chips in the emerging entertainment game, since the new technologies have an almost insatiable appetite for products to show.

Central casting has sent the moneymen to help direct the entertainment industry's new wave. They are businessmen who have earned their fortunes in other fields and are now conquering Hollywood. Examples: MGM's Kirk Kerkorian, a onetime airline financier, and Denver Oilman Marvin Davis, who liquidated his energy holdings in order to buy 20th Century-Fox.

Ever since its founding, the film business has been afflicted by fluctuating fortunes. After the golden age of movies, which lasted up until the end of World War II, television pushed the industry into a 30-year slump. Paid attendance reached 4.1 billion in 1946, but fell precipitously until it bottomed out at 820 million in 1971. At the same time, the average price of a ticket was rising from 20¢ to $2.69.

The industry had some major successes in the late 1970s, including *Star Wars*, *Saturday Night Fever* and *Grease*, but Hollywood is now again reeling. The writers have been on strike for almost two months, and the studios last week were bracing for a walkout by directors. The loudest flop has come from *Heaven's Gate*. The film cost a stunning $43 million to produce, but it has been roasted by critics and ignored by audiences. According to *Variety*, a new version of the original movie is now earning a combined total of only $1,300 a week at the 26 American theaters where it is playing.

Just as admissions have sagged, Hollywood production costs have been climbing like the rents on Rodeo Drive. An average picture, which cost $3.1 million to produce in 1975, now costs nearly $10 million, and up to $10 million more must be spent to distribute and promote it. These high costs have forced the studios to find outside sources of funds. For example, Gulf & Western currently owns Paramount, while Universal has become part of the media conglomerate MCA.

**Producer Richard Zanuck at the Hotel Carlton in Cannes. Inset: MGM's Kirk Kerkorian**

*Moguls will cash in on the emerging markets of cable tv and home video players*

Now Hollywood hopes to capture additional sources of revenue through the new forms of electronic entertainment. Studios see vast profits in the sale of movie rights for transmission over pay-cable television systems, which charge subscribers an average of $10 a month for a program of movies and other entertainment. Studios are also eagerly licensing their films for reproduction on video-tape cassettes or record-like video discs that can be played at home on special machines costing $500 or more. Says MGM Chairman Frank Rosenfelt: "We're no longer in the movie business, we're in the entertainment software business. The whole nature and character of the business have changed."

The studios have started scrambling to set up subsidiaries to handle the new home-viewing programs. 20th Century-Fox acquired Magnetic Video, which has become the nation's largest producer of video cassettes with prerecorded movies. MCA has joined with IBM to make and sell video-disc players. Only United Artists is not involved in marketing video discs and cassettes. Instead it has licensed its films to other companies. RCA, for example, bought 100 movies for use on its video-disc player.

Not all the new forays are successful. Last year the Justice Department stopped a proposed joint venture of Getty Oil with 20th Century-Fox, Columbia Paramount and MCA to start the cable television broadcasting of films. The judge ruled that the movie companies might use the new organization to drive up the prices paid for their motion pictures.

Kirk Kerkorian, 63, is now trying to make MGM the industry's leader for the new era. The son of a Turkish immigrant, Kerkorian got started in business by buying old DC-3 airplanes in Hawaii after World War II, flying them to the mainland and then converting them for commercial use. After amassing a fortune in aviation, Kerkorian acquired 47% of MGM in 1969. At first, he moved rapidly to liquidate the company's valuable assets. While the production of movies declined by 75%, Kerkorian sold backlot real estate for residential development and even auctioned off Judy Garland's dress from *The Wizard of Oz* as part of a celebrated sale of movie memorabilia.

Beginning in 1978, Kerkorian started looking around for other movie companies to acquire. He secretly bought 24% of Columbia Pictures and tried to

merge it with MGM. Columbia's owners resisted vigorously, calling the attempted takeover "an early-morning bombing and strafing raid." Last February the two sides signed an accord in which Kerkorian sold his shares back to Columbia for $137 million and agreed not to buy any more stock for ten years. Kerkorian then flirted with 20th Century-Fox, but was thwarted by Marvin Davis, who made his own bid of $722 million for the studio. Finally, Kerkorian made the offer for United Artists that was accepted last week by Transamerica.

The acquisition makes sense for both sides. United Artists seemed the odd man out in Transamerica's financial services company. *Heaven's Gate* had demoralized the firm and caused a management shakeup. MGM was attracted to UA because it owns a library of about 2,000 old films that can be sold to cable TV. MGM executives also want to control United Artists' worldwide distribution network, since they will now collect the distributor's 30% cut of their movies' gross ticket sales. Says Merrill Lynch Vice President Harold Vogel: "The merger means MGM will be a stronger competitor now."

After a long period of corporate confusion, Kerkorian divided his holdings into two parts last year. He spun off his hotel and gambling interests, which include the MGM Grand in Las Vegas, into a separate company called MGM Grand Hotels Inc., and his movie properties into MGM Film Co. It was shortly after the two MGM companies were split that a fire took 84 lives last November at the MGM Grand.

For the first time in a generation, MGM is the busiest studio in Hollywood. Last year Kerkorian brought in David Begelman, the controversial but successful former head of Columbia, to run the movie operation. So far this year, MGM has started eight films, compared with a total of 15 for Columbia, Disney, Paramount and Fox combined. Begelman has also announced that he will be developing 51 films. These include *Tarzan, the Ape Man* starring Bo Derek, John Steinbeck's *Cannery Row* with Nick Nolte, and *American Rhapsody* with Punk Rocker Deborah Harry.

No matter how much promise exists in new entertainment technology, Hollywood still lives for the box-office smash. Big resale prices to television and other video outlets, and the resulting profits, are largely determined by the success of a movie in regular theaters. The industry hopes that Warner Bros.' *Superman II*, the sequel of the fifth most popular picture ever made, will draw audiences back to theaters this summer. If the Man of Steel succeeds, Hollywood believes that it can prosper with movies that play both on the big screen and on the little tube. *—By Alexander Taylor. Reported by Michael Moritz/Los Angeles and Sue Raffety/New York*

# High-Tech Ban

## *Halting strategic exports*

American customs officials last month boarded an Aeroflot airliner at Dulles International Airport in Washington and seized three crates of suspicious cargo. The Soviets immediately accused the U.S. of a "bandit operation" and a "criminal, barbarous act," but the customs officials replied that they were merely carrying out U.S. Government rules banning the sale of high-technology equipment to the Soviet Union and other Communist nations.

In fact, the Aeroflot shipment contained only nonembargoed items: common air navigation equipment, radiation measurement devices and spare parts for a fertilizer factory. But the incident pointed up the confusion surrounding the policy on American exports to the Soviet Union, which were virtually halted after the invasion of Afghanistan 17 months ago. Although the embargo of the shipment of grain and phosphates was lifted in April, the ban on the export of high-technology goods remains theoretically in force. The American action has cut off the sale of about $150 million in exports, primarily of computers, to the Soviets.

The U.S. policy, though, has been glaringly inconsistent. For example, Armco steel was barred in March 1980 from joining a Japanese steel firm in constructing a $350 million cold-rolling mill in Novolipetsk. But Caterpillar was granted approval late last year to supply pipe-laying equipment used in building the 3,000-mile Yamal Peninsula natural gas pipeline. A semiconductor chip that U.S. companies cannot sell to the Soviets has been licensed for production in Brazil, which is not bound by the embargo. The microchip, in fact, is a component in a popular computer game that is for sale in Western European toy stores. Says Samuel Pisar, a Paris-based international trade expert: "The U.S. and its Western allies have simply never formulated a consistent policy on exports of technology to the Soviets. Decisions on whether to sell or not vacillate continually, depending almost totally upon the political climate of the moment."

Since 1949 most Western European nations and Japan have kept a close eye on the sale of high-technology goods to Communist nations through an obscure NATO affiliate, the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls. Known as CoCom, the agency is run by a small staff out of a Paris office that is inconspicuously wedged between a hair salon and a bank. Though CoCom has no official power to ban sales, its recommendations are generally followed. After the invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. stepped up pressure on its allies and CoCom to halt technology exports to the Soviet Union. But while the U.S. Government has stopped trade by some American companies, foreign firms have sometimes flouted U.S. policy. The French, for example, signed a contract last September to build the steel factory that Armco could not. And after Alcoa was forbidden last year to construct a Soviet aluminum smelter, a West German firm went ahead with the project.

One of the U.S.-made IBM computers that were installed in Moscow before the trade embargo

*"The Western allies have never formed a consistent policy on Soviet technology exports."*

The inconsistent enforcement of the Western trade embargo has naturally left U.S. businessmen confused. Says Sperry Corp. Chairman J. Paul Lyet, whose company has sold computers under Government license to the Soviets: "We never knew what Government policy was under the previous Administration."

The Reagan White House is now trying to clarify its own rules. It has ordered the FBI and the CIA to step up enforcement activities, and a high-level review of the embargo is under way. The Administration has also warned American exporters that lifting the grain embargo should not be considered a precedent for ending the high-technology ban. ■

# Busy Banker

## *A barhopping good ole boy*

By day, W. Darrell Wiggins, 48, was every inch a button-down banker. From 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., the senior vice president of Houston's Allied Bank of Texas (1980 assets: $1.3 billion) presided soberly and quietly over the bank's 15-man international division. But by night, the portly and bearded Wiggins moved onto a faster track, barhopping along Houston's nightclub circuit, where he showed affection to his favorite topless dancers with $100 tips.

On weekends, Wiggins immersed himself in an even more extravagant pursuit as a multimillionaire cattle breeder. He rode high in the saddle as owner of a six-state ranching empire that included the U.S.'s largest herd of Limousin beef cattle, a prizewinning French breed.

Though Houstonians had always assumed that Wiggins had a silent partner for his far-flung ventures, it now turns out, according to bank lawyers, that his unwitting sugar daddy was none other than Allied itself. By using a paper shuffle involving financial notes called bankers' acceptances, Wiggins, starting in the early 1970s, helped himself to $16.7 million from Allied's international department, say the lawyers. Says Barbara Hecker, 39, a former girlfriend: "I used to ask him why he stayed on at the bank when it seemed he could make so much more money raising and selling cattle. Now I know why."

Allied Bank thus joins a growing list of U.S. banks that have been victimized by unscrupulous employees. Earlier this year, California's Wells Fargo Bank was bilked out of some $21 million in a scam involving bogus transfers between branch offices, and last week reports surfaced of a $20 million loan fraud scheme at Chase Manhattan Bank in New York City.

As Bank Attorney Joseph H. Peck Jr. reluctantly confirmed, Wiggins' ploy was to sell bogus bankers' acceptances to unwitting buyers in New York. He was able to do this undetected because, in his capacity as head of international operations at Allied, he had authority to sell acceptances on behalf of the bank itself.

Bankers' acceptances are widely used in foreign trade transactions. If an exporter sells a shipment of goods to a foreign customer, three months or more can go by before the exporter gets paid. Meanwhile, he must carry the cost of the goods he has already sold and shipped. To get his money earlier, an exporter often negotiates a short-term bank loan. The bank then stamps the note ACCEPTED, which guarantees repayment even if the borrower reneges, and sells the document at a discount on New York's short-term money market. Many millions of dollars in such notes are sold daily in New York, and last week they yielded interest rates as high as 19%. As confirmed by Peck, Wiggins apparently operated a disarmingly straightforward scheme. First, he dreamed up a borrower and drew up the appropriate document in that name. Next he stamped the note ACCEPTED, and then offered it for sale in New York. Finally, the money from the sale was deposited in a private checking account that Wiggins had set up under a phony name. When he needed money for bar tips, cattle or a new pair of ostrich cowboy boots, Wiggins could simply draw out funds against the account.

**Button-down banker, and friend, after hours**

*A disarmingly straightforward scheme.*

Each time an acceptance came due, Wiggins paid it off by selling another bogus acceptance. His scheme was uncovered last January when internal audits discovered that the bank's books were out of balance. The revelation came about for the simple reason that Wiggins overlooked an acceptance that was due to mature.

Wiggins confessed to the rip-off in a statement to the bank, though he pleaded that it all began when he promised a loan to an unqualified customer. At the same time, confirmed Peck, he deeded over all his assets to Allied, and even agreed to a bank demand that he give up any literary rights he might have or acquire—in case he decided, for example, to try his hand at writing a book about his caper. In early April the bank sold much of Wiggins' cattle holdings for $2.4 million. It has also written off $9.9 million as a loss against 1980 earnings, and filed an insurance claim for $10 million more.

Though no one has yet been charged with any criminal offense, that could change. The FBI, the U.S. Attorney in Houston and Texas state law enforcement officials have all opened investigations, and a federal grand jury has begun taking testimony in the case. ■

# Closed Doors

## *An ominous S and L failure*

After federal regulators locked the doors at the failed Economy Savings and Loan Association in Chicago last week, worried depositors immediately began gathering on the sidewalk outside. For one white-haired woman, the scene brought back haunting memories. "This is just what happened in the '30s," she fretted.

But it was not exactly like the early 1930s, when depositors might have lost their money. H. Brent Beesley, director of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. (FSLIC), was on hand last week to reassure the customers personally. Because their accounts were protected by the U.S. Government up to a maximum of $100,000, he told them, they would be getting their money back within ten days. Beesley also ordered signs posted on the S and L's windows telling savers that their accounts were insured.

Economy Savings, a small institution with deposits of $69 million, is the only S and L in a decade to be liquidated by the FSLIC, but it may be only the first of many in the coming months. Like all S and Ls, Economy Savings was trapped in a profit squeeze caused by unrelenting high interest rates. It was forced to pay as much as 15½% to attract deposits, while carrying many old mortgages on its books that earned less than 10%. The firm also apparently compounded its problems through ill-advised speculation in the market for Government securities.

**Busted**

Unless interest rates drop precipitously, the U.S.'s 4,600 S and Ls are likely to lose $5 billion this year, and scores of weak institutions could easily collapse. In 15 months the number of S and Ls on the FSLIC's list of "problem cases" has jumped from 79 to 246. Last year the agency saved eleven insolvent S and Ls by arranging shotgun mergers with healthier institutions. These rescue operations cost the agency $1.3 billion out of its $6.5 billion reserve fund. The balance sheet at Economy Savings, however, was apparently so dismal that no takers could be found.

So far the Reagan Administration has resisted recommending any emergency aid to S and Ls. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan argues that the President's economic program of budget reductions, tax cuts and tight regulation of the money supply will eventually bring down interest rates and relieve pressure on financial institutions. The fate of hundreds of beleaguered thrifts now rests on that strategy. ■

COVER STORY

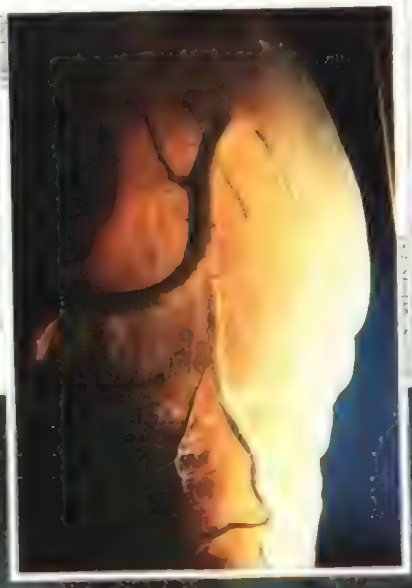
# Taming the No. 1 Killer

*Doctors attack heart disease with new techniques and potent drugs*

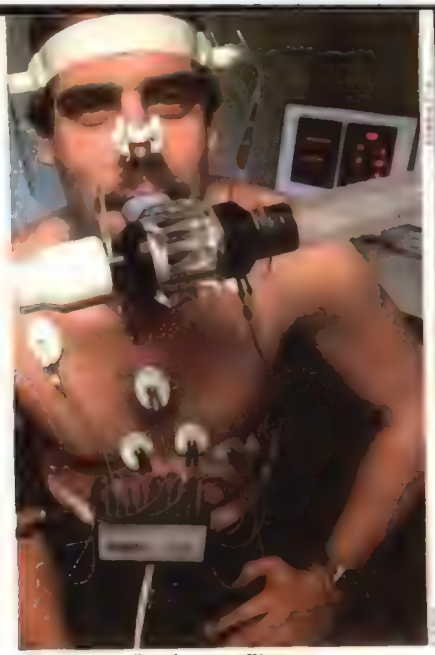
Charles Weiner, 45, was trudging through Boston's snowy streets one night when he suddenly felt a gripping pain in his chest. In the previous eight years he had had two similar experiences, but after thorough physicals, including blood tests and electrocardiograms, doctors could find nothing wrong with his heart and attributed the pains to a mild gall bladder attack or chest muscle strain. This time, though, Weiner was given a new diagnostic test. Doctors injected a radioactive substance into his bloodstream, then took pictures of his heart with a special camera that detects radioactivity. The pictures revealed that his heart was not getting an adequate supply of blood, and further tests showed that the coronary arteries were blocked in several places. Weiner underwent bypass surgery, which eased his discomfort and may have prolonged his life.

Dana Wilson, 41, a lumber company manager in Mehama, Ore., had been taking drugs to control the occasional irregular beating of his heart following a massive heart attack. But the treatment proved unsuccessful: one day several months after the attack, his heart began to race, reaching 250 beats per minute before returning to normal. Doctors turned to an innovative method of studying arrhythmias. They threaded electrodes into his heart and electrically stimulated the tissue to induce the erratic beating. Trying different drugs, they learned that none would be helpful in treating Wilson's condition. But by moving the electrodes around, doctors located the areas of heart tissue that seemed to be generating the faulty rhythms. Last April surgeons operated and removed the suspect tissue.

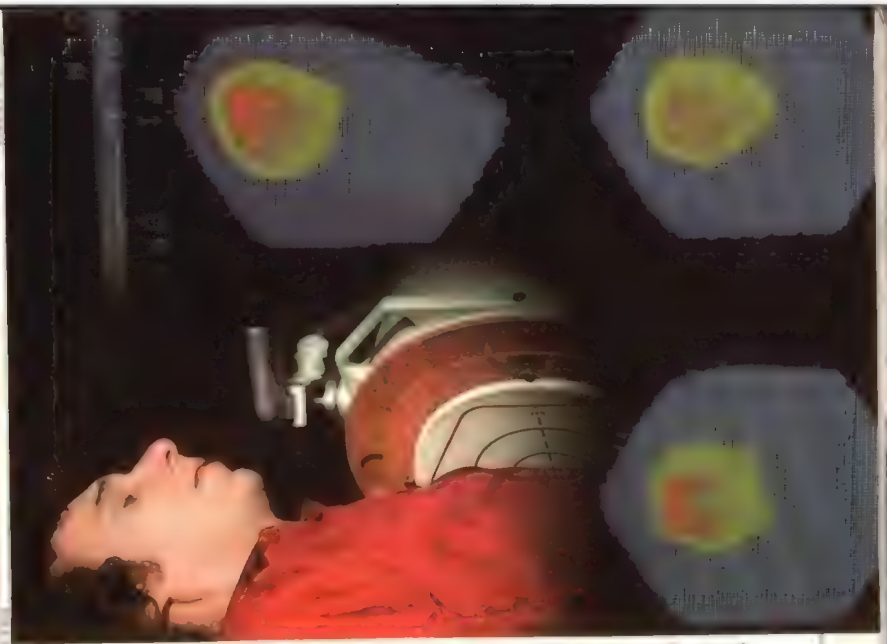
David Clendenen, 58, an electrical contractor in Sacramento, had never had any indication of heart trouble. But one morning last March, he suddenly felt "like there was an elephant sitting on my chest." Realizing he was having a heart attack, he called for help and was rushed to the hospital by ambulance. Emergency room physicians stabilized his condition and transferred him to a special laboratory for a delicate experimental procedure. A long, thin plastic tube was inserted into an artery in his leg and gently pushed through the blood vessels all the way up into the aorta to the coronary arteries. A radiopaque substance was injected into the coronary vessels, and X-ray



**Performing bypass surgery to shunt blood around blocked portions of coronary arteries. Inset: A normal heart with unclogged vessels from a patient who died of a nutritional illness**



Testing cardiopulmonary fitness



Multiple exposure showing a patient and three nuclear scans of his heart muscle at work

pictures were taken, revealing a blood clot. Doctors infused an anticlotting drug through the tube. Within an hour, the clot had dissolved, blood flow was re-established, and Clendenen was spared extensive heart damage.

A decade or so ago, these techniques were unknown. Today they are just a few of the dramatic new weapons being used to fight the scourge of the 20th century, cardiovascular disease. Disorders involving the heart and blood vessels take many forms; among the most common are high blood pressure, clogged coronary arteries, abnormal heart rhythms, strokes, rheumatic heart disease and congenital defects. Today these ailments represent the leading health problem in the industrialized world, and one that is fast assuming major importance in underdeveloped countries as well. In the U.S. alone, cardiovascular illness claims nearly 1 million lives each year. That makes it the nation's No. 1 killer, accounting for half of all deaths recorded annually. Cancer, though more feared, claims only a third as many victims.

More than two-thirds of the deaths result from heart attacks or strokes. Heart attacks, which take about 550,000 lives each year, occur when the coronary arteries that supply blood to the heart muscle become obstructed. Without oxygen and other nutrients carried in the blood, heart tissue dies or is damaged. If too much tissue is affected, the heart is so weakened that it cannot pump. But even mild damage can kill by disrupting the electrical impulses that govern the heart's rhythmic beating. Stroke claims another 170,000 lives, and is also caused by impeded blood flow, this time to the brain.

A treacherous assassin, cardiovascular illness can go unnoticed for decades and kill without warning. Says Cardiologist Joseph Messer of Chicago's Rush-Presbyterian–St. Luke's Medical Center: "Heart disease is often an iceberg, and the way it breaks the water is likely to mean death or irreparable damage."

Until the 20th century, cardiovascular disease was not considered a serious health problem, in part because it often went unrecognized. Heart attacks, for example, masquerade as acute indigestion and other ailments. About 1940 the incidence of heart disease began to surge, probably because people smoked more, ate fatty foods and exercised infrequently. The price of luxury has proved higher than anyone expected. Heart ailments cost the U.S. $50 billion a year. About half of that amount is the cost of medical care, the rest is lost wages and productivity. Nearly a quarter of fatal heart attack victims are below age 65.

Gloomy as these statistics are, heart specialists are optimistic these days, and for good reason. In the past decade, the U.S. death rate from strokes has plummeted 37% and from heart attacks 25%. Experts offer a variety of possible explanations: better emergency treatment, including the training of 15 million Americans in cardiopulmonary resuscitation; improved coronary care in hospitals; the stress on the dangers of cigarettes and the benefits of exercise and "prudent" diet.

Perhaps most important has been the aggressive campaign waged by the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute and the American Heart Association to detect and treat hypertension, a risk factor in heart attacks and strokes. "Decades ago, there were two schools of thought," says Dr. Robert Levy, director of the N.H.L.B.I. "One said that high blood pressure should be lowered, and the other said that it can be protective [that is, needed to supply more blood to organs like the brain]. Now we know that it's

Using high-frequency sound waves to check for blockages in a neck artery

*Able to "see" signs of cardiovascular disease with new noninvasive methods*

Gruntzig with balloon catheter in Atlanta

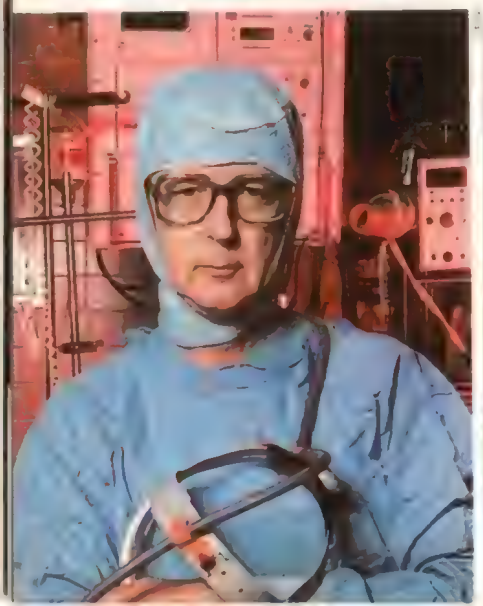
very important that we treat it." Nearly 35 million Americans, one of every four adults (more in blacks), have chronically elevated blood pressure, but most are not aware of it. Hypertension often has no characteristic symptoms, hence its tag "the silent killer." But it can be diagnosed easily enough by taking multiple blood pressure readings. Normal is usually around 120/80, though the figure may vary widely, depending on the individual. The higher number is called systolic pressure and refers to the force exerted by blood pushing against artery walls as the heart contracts and pumps blood; the lower figure, the diastolic pressure, is the force between beats, when the heart is at rest Persistent measurements over 140/90 are needed to establish that a person has hypertension

What causes the condition is often unclear. Once diagnosed, however, it can be controlled, though not cured. Losing weight or restricting salt suffices for some

ier to mend in the decade ahead. Sophisticated new machines allow doctors to "see" a patient's heart without surgery. Major strides have been made in understanding how the heart works and why disease occurs. These in turn have led to breakthroughs in the operating theater and the drug research laboratory. Says Cardiologist Eugene Braunwald of Brigham and Women's Hospital and Beth Israel in Boston: "There's been more done in cardiology research in the past ten years than in its entire previous history." Roman DeSanctis of Massachusetts General Hospital terms it "one succession of miracles after another."

The most familiar advance dates from 1967, when surgeons performed the first bypass operation on a patient with a coronary artery blockage. In the procedure, a vein taken from the patient's leg is grafted to the aorta and to the unobstructed portion of the coronary artery, thus detouring blood around the blocked area

Eugene Braunwald with heart model in Boston; Mark Josephson eyes monitors in Philadelphia. Below: John Kirklin in Birmingham



patients. More intractable cases can be treated with medication.

Among the most widely prescribed is a group of drugs known collectively as beta blockers. By preventing nerve impulses from reaching special sites (beta receptors) in the heart and blood vessels, these drugs reduce both the rate at which the heart beats and the force of its contractions. Beta blockers were introduced in the U.S. in the 1970s and have caused much excitement. In addition to lowering blood pressure, they are used extensively to control angina and are commonly prescribed for irregular heart rhythms as well. They are now being studied to see if they can prevent death in people who have survived a heart attack. About 10% of survivors die in the year following an attack.

Recent advances in diagnosis and treatment will make damaged hearts eas-

The operation usually relieves angina, the severe chest pain that develops when the heart muscle is not getting enough blood Bypass proponents also feel that the operation reduces the chance of death from heart attack in many patients. From 1975 to 1980, some 540,000 bypasses were performed in the U.S., too many according to some critics, who feel that drug therapy is safer, cheaper (a bypass costs about $15,000) and as effective in many cases Says Surgeon John Kirklin of the University of Alabama Hospitals in Birmingham, who performs an average of six bypasses a week: "Bypass grafting can make a person absolutely well who has been totally disabled. But you don't want to use such a powerful weapon until you have to. You want to keep your powder dry."

The best way to do that is to detect the disease before it has grown desperate. Today physicians are refining their

diagnostic techniques at a remarkable pace. A decade ago, they checked for heart disease by taking a patient's history, doing a physical examination and ordering chest X rays, electrocardiograms and angiograms. X-ray films and EKGs give general information about the heart's structure and electrical activity, respectively. Angiograms, special X-ray pictures made by injecting a radiopaque substance through a thin tube inserted into the heart or coronary arteries, provide more accurate information about constrictions in the coronary arteries. But the technique is costly (about $2,000) and usually requires a two-night stay in the hospital. It carries a slight risk: one of every 1,000 patients dies from the procedure.

The angiogram is still the most important diagnostic tool, but now doctors also have an array of safe, "noninvasive" tests at their disposal. Among them:

**Ultrasound Imaging.** Also known as echocardiography, this is probably the most widely used noninvasive test. By bouncing high-frequency sound waves off the heart in much the same way that surface ships search for submarines, physicians can get a picture of the heart's interior, its chambers and valves.

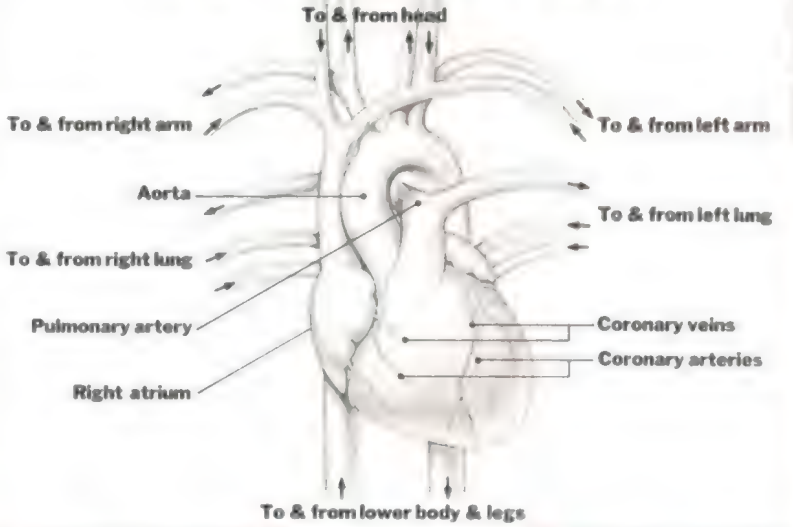
**Nuclear Scanning.** Using this technique, doctors can examine the heart's pumping performance and check for evidence of obstruction in the coronary arteries. Radioactive isotopes with affinities for certain tissues are injected into the bloodstream. A special imaging device, called a scintillation camera, picks up the gamma rays emitted by the isotopes, and a computer translates the information into pictures. For example, by using thallium 201, an isotope that lodges in healthy heart muscle, doctors can tell if tissue has died as a result of a heart attack and whether blood is flowing freely through the coronary arteries. The test is usually performed first while the patient is exercising on a treadmill or bicycle and then while resting. Similarly, physicians can radioactively label components of the blood, like red cells, to see how efficiently the organ is pumping.

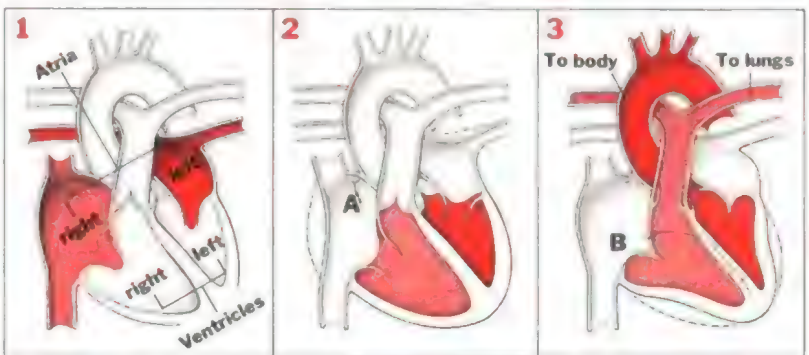
**Positron Emission Tomography.** Here the heart is labeled with isotopes that emit charged particles called positrons. A special machine takes simultaneous cross-section views of the heart from different angles; a computer reconstructs the images to give a three-dimensional picture of the heart. "It isn't in clinical use yet, but it's a valuable tool for sophisticated research," says Jeffrey Borer, a cardiologist at New York Hospital.

**Balloon Angioplasty.** Treatment, like testing, has improved apace. This method has been used on some patients to unclog coronary arteries laden with cholesterol plaque. A catheter is inserted into an artery in the arm or leg and guided to the blocked artery. Then a smaller tube with a tiny, uninflated balloon at its tip is threaded through the larger tube and centered in the plaque-narrowed area. The balloon is inflated for several seconds, flattening the plaque against the artery walls and opening the passage. Dr. Andreas Grüntzig at Emory University, who developed the experimental technique, says it unblocks arteries in 90% of attempts. If the vessel narrows later, as has happened 10% to 15% of the time, the procedure can be done again. Researchers estimate that 5% of those who are candidates for bypass operations might be treated just as effectively—and more quickly and cheaply—by balloon angioplasty.

**Clot-Dissolving Streptokinase.** Cardiologists are excited about an experimental technique that may be able to stop a blood clot–caused heart attack right in its tracks, and perhaps minimize damage to heart tissue. Says Garrett Lee of the University of California, Davis Medical Center: "Ten years ago, a patient admitted to the hospital would have been taken to the coronary care unit and continued to be monitored. It would be bed rest, oxygen and drugs to prevent such complications as arrhythmias and heart failure—but the heart attack would run its course." With this new technique doctors try to interrupt the attack by feeding a narrow tube through an artery in the groin into the blocked coronary vessel and injecting a drug called streptokinase, which can dissolve the clot within an hour. Says Lee: "The main problem with this technique is that patients just don't get into the hospital in time. In the first two to three hours, 50% of the heart muscle that's destined to

## HOW THE HEART WORKS




**1. During the heart's relaxed stage (diastole), oxygen-depleted blood from body flows into right atrium, oxygenated blood from lungs into left. 2. Natural pacemaker, or sinoatrial node (A), fires electrical impulse and atria contract. Valves open and blood fills ventricles. 3. In pumping stage (systole), the electrical signal, relayed through atrioventricular node (B), causes ventricles to contract, forcing oxygen-poor blood to lungs, oxygen-rich blood to body.**

# When a Heart Attack Hits . . .

Sometimes it begins with a mild discomfort in the chest. Other times the pain may be excruciatingly severe, holding the chest in a viselike grip. The ache, usually persistent, may radiate down the left shoulder and arm, and perhaps also affect the neck, jaw or back. The victim may become extremely short of breath, break into a cold sweat, feel weak and nauseated and possibly vomit. Along with these signs and symptoms, there may be palpitations. The face can turn a ghastly gray, and the patient may experience anxiety, even a sense of impending doom. Says Cardiologist Marshall Franklin of San Diego's Clairemont Community Hospital: "It is like nothing the patient has ever known before, a feeling that something cataclysmic is happening."

These are classic symptoms of a heart attack, or what doctors call a myocardial infarction. Such attacks occur all too frequently in the U.S., striking one American every 21 seconds. They can hit suddenly, without any obvious hint of previous disease, when coronary arteries pinch shut in a spasm. But they usually result from a lifelong buildup of fatty deposits in the arteries that nourish the heart. If these coronary vessels become badly obstructed, the flow of vital blood and oxygen is reduced or cut off entirely. When that happens, parts of the heart are starved. It is the death of cardiac muscle that constitutes a heart attack.

Paramedics aid a coronary victim in New York

Still, even a heart with significant muscle loss can effectively pump blood. The real killer is disturbances in the heart's rhythm. These are most likely to occur in the first minutes or hours after the attack, caused by irregularities in the flow of electrical signals that control the beat of the heart. The heartbeat may develop abnormal rhythms and degenerate into a useless twitching or quivering. No longer is the heart able to drive blood through the body. Cardiac arrest ensues.

A heart attack may be triggered by unaccustomedly vigorous exercise or emotional crisis, but often it occurs during a period of little stress or activity, like sleeping. There are even "silent" heart attacks, accompanied by virtually no symptoms at all. Frequently the victim will shrug off the initial signs, even if the pain is quite strong, saying, "It's only indigestion." Some men have been known to do push-ups during an attack just to show they are all right. But such bravado can prove suicidal, because the greatest danger comes in the critical moments immediately after the attack.

Prompt emergency procedures can help restore normal heartbeat. This may be done by electrical stimulation, drugs or, in the absence of any other medical aid, chest massage. Keeping a list of emergency phone numbers and knowing what hospitals are best equipped to treat coronary cases can save valuable time —and perhaps a family member's life. Because every second counts, more and more Americans are learning the life-and-death skills of cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR).

Even so, many people delay in seeking medical help. The consequences can be fateful. More than half of the 550,000 Americans who die of heart attacks each year succumb before they reach a hospital. In a study of coronary patients at the University of Rochester, cardiologists found that the average interval between the onset of symptoms and hospitalization was 3½ hours, yet some 80% of these patients had experienced severe chest pains from the start. At least one reason for this hesitation is a belief that a heart attack always results in total incapacitation.

Actually the contrary is more likely to be true. If a heart attack patient is promptly hospitalized, the chances of recovery are excellent. As many as 85% of those who reach hospitals live to tell about their experience. Most return to vigorous lives of work and play, sex included. In fact, they are openly encouraged to do so by their doctors.

die will die, then the amount of tissue jeopardized tapers off." Because blood clots tend to form where plaque clogs the artery, researchers are considering following streptokinase therapy with balloon angioplasty. The aim is to prevent extensive tissue damage and a second attack.

**Diagnosing Arrhythmias.** A large percentage of the heart disease deaths in the U.S. each year are due to arrhythmias, irregular heartbeats that occur when the organ's electrical impulses are disrupted. Normally, the millions of heart cells contract in specific sequence as an electric current flows from one part of the heart to another. Irregular rhythms are associated with coronary artery disease, faulty valves and heart muscle damage resulting from hypertension, heart attacks or excessive drinking. When the system short-circuits, the heart develops abnormal rhythms, which can lead in extreme situations to fibrillation, a disorganized twitching of the heart muscle. The victim may suddenly feel faint or dizzy or fall unconscious; death can occur within minutes.

The greatest threat of arrhythmias is that the first episode can be fatal. In emergencies the heart can be electrically shocked to restore a healthy beat. But many people do not get help in time and are not resuscitated. One device that doctors now use to diagnose a patient's irregular rhythms is the 24-hour EKG recording. A person wears a tape recorder–size monitor that has electrodes leading from it to his chest as he pursues his normal daily routine. The machine automatically records his heart's rhythm over the day, during which time he keeps a diary of his activities and symptoms. Doctors then analyze both sets of data. If previously unsuspected and potentially dangerous rhythms are detected they can then be treated with either drugs or pacemakers. Introduced in the late 1950s, pacemakers regulate the heartbeat through a steady stream of electrical impulses. Nearly a million people now rely on implanted devices, which last from six to twelve years.

**Electrophysiology.** At the University of Pennsylvania and several other institutions, cardiac electrophysiologists are investigating the heart's electrical conduction system to learn where abnormal beats originate and to develop appropriate treatment. They do this by inserting several narrow tubes containing electrodes to induce a faulty rhythm in the heart. Says Penn's Mark Josephson: "Using electrical stimulation of the heart and mapping, we can decide whether to use drugs, a pacemaker or surgery."

**Implantable Defibrillators.** To help some patients with severe rhythm disruption, scientists at Johns Hopkins University and Sinai Hospital of Baltimore developed a small device called an automatic implantable defibrillator. This is placed in the abdomen and has electrodes that are connected to the heart's right atrium

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# HERE'S TO GUT FEELINGS AND THOSE WHO STILL FOLLOW THEM.

Ted "Captain Outrageous" Turner

Ted Turner does lots of things people advise him not to do. And he succeeds at them. He turned Atlanta's WTBS-TV into a "Superstation" using a communications satellite and recently founded Cable News Network, the world's first 24-hour TV news network. He bought the Atlanta Braves and moved them out of last place; won the 1977 America's Cup after being fired in the '74 races; and was named "Yachtsman of the Year" four times.

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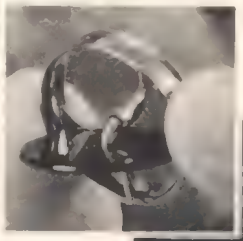
and to the ventricles' pointed tip. It is powered by lithium batteries good for three years or 100 shocks. Says Hopkins Cardiologist Myron Weisfeldt: "When the patient has an arrhythmia persisting for at least ten seconds, the machine waits another five seconds and then discharges an electric shock, which usually stops the arrhythmia."

**Treating Atherosclerosis.** This condition refers to the narrowing of the arteries by a buildup of fatty deposits. Today many heart specialists theorize that atherosclerosis is a complex process that starts with a minor injury to the smooth single layer of cells that line the arteries in a cobblestone pattern. Researchers speculate that the damage may result from cigarette smoking, high blood pressure or virus infection.



To restore the pathway, the body musters its repair troops, led by the platelets, tiny disc-shaped particles in the blood that help stop bleeding by promoting clotting. These "little plates" produce a chemical, thromboxane, that constricts blood vessels and signals other platelets to gather round. The platelets also manufacture a chemical that induces the artery's exposed underlying muscle cells to multiply. "If the injury is short-lived," says Russell Ross of the University of Washington School of Medicine in Seattle, "the proliferation process is reversible. But if the injury is chronic and repeated in the same sites in an artery wall, then you have a buildup." Cholesterol and debris collect around the muscle cells, an atherosclerotic plaque develops and the artery narrows. Platelets continue to congregate and may eventually help create a clot that completely blocks blood flow. Says DeWitt Goodman of the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons: "There is good reason to think if you interfere with platelet function you might reduce the chance of heart attack or stroke, but it is not 100% proved."

One drug being studied as a platelet fighter is that old stand-by, aspirin. Results so far have been equivocal, but, says Goodman, "many doctors, including myself, tell patients with a very high risk of heart disease to take half an aspirin a day." A drug for possible future use is a synthetic version of prostacyclin, a chemical related to thromboxane but produced by the cells lining the artery and having exactly the opposite effect: it relaxes blood vessels and prevents platelets from clumping

**Calcium Blockers.** Researchers have also discovered that calcium plays a crucial role in the heart's workings. The electrical stimulation and subsequent contraction of the heart muscle are both partially governed by the flow of calcium ions into the muscle cells. Because of this, drugs that inhibit the flow of calcium ions have attracted intense interest. Declares Boston's Braunwald: "Calcium blockers are not just another class of drugs that has come along. They lower blood pressure, they raise cardiac output in heart failure, they are effective in arrhythmias. They are also useful for angina. They're almost too good to be true."

The calcium blockers, which have been mainstays of therapy in Europe and Japan for some years but are just now being introduced in the U.S., also promise to deal beneficially with coronary artery spasm, a phenomenon whose importance is becoming more widely recognized. These sudden clampdowns can close arteries that are clear of plaque, leaving no trace, after the vessels relax, that the spasm ever occurred.

**Robert Jarvik and William DeVries with artificial heart, and valve (inset)**

*"It's likely a patient could live a year if he lives a day."*

They are a greater threat when the arteries are already narrowed. "There are probably some patients with pure atherosclerosis, and some with pure coronary artery spasm," says Braunwald, "but I suspect the majority of patients have both."

The Food and Drug Administration is expected to approve marketing of calcium blockers within months. Excitement over their potential applications is so high that major pharmaceutical companies are bringing out their own brand names, mostly for angina sufferers.

Sadly, many patients are beyond the stage when standard treatments can be of any help. For them, doctors are working on a dramatic last-resort weapon: the replacement of failed hearts. Transplants were all but abandoned in the mid-1970s: only about 20% of the more than a hundred recipients survived a year. Interest is reviving, primarily because of work done at Stanford University. Led by Surgeon Norman Shumway, the Stanford team has performed 209 transplants since 1968 and reports that half of recipients can now be expected to live at least five years. These improved results are largely due to the ability to predict more accurately when the donor heart will be rejected. This allows doctors to use antirejection drugs with precision, minimizing undesired side effects.

On March 9 Stanford surgeons performed a heart-lung transplant, only the fourth such operation ever and the first since 1971. The patient was Mary Gohlke, 45, a newspaper executive from Mesa, Ariz. She had been suffering from pulmonary hypertension, a condition in which high blood pressure in the vessels of the lungs impairs breathing and eventually damages the heart. Dr. Bruce Reitz and his Stanford team severed the aorta and trachea and cut through the heart's right atrium to remove the heart and lungs. "The whole thing comes out as a package," explains Reitz. Then they replaced it with healthy organs from a 15-year-old boy killed in a car accident. Gohlke, who is expected to be released from the hospital within the next two weeks, is doing well—walking and taking short trips outside the hospital in a wheelchair. On May 1 Reitz performed another heart-lung transplant, this one on a former undertaker, Charles Walker, 30, who had a congenital heart defect. He too is doing well.

Even more spectacular is an operation that researchers at the University of Utah hope to do soon: implantation of an artificial heart. The challenge is formidable, since the heart is one of nature's masterpieces. The fist-size organ beats 100,000 times a day, and over a lifetime pumps enough blood through the 60,000-mile cir-

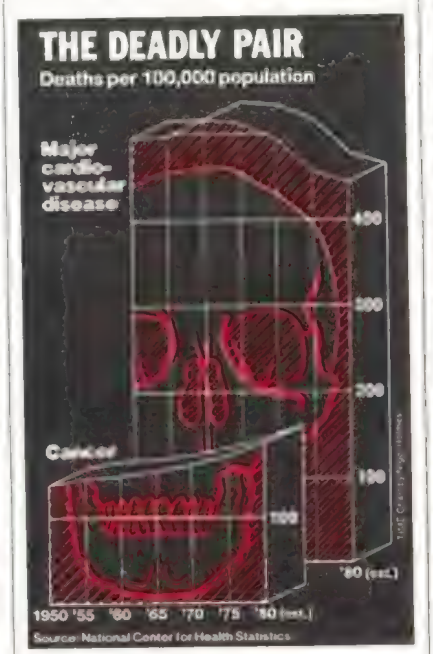
culatory system to fill 13 million bbl. The Utah heart, dubbed the Jarvik 7 for its designer, Robert Jarvik, is made of plastic and aluminum and powered by electricity. The implant operation will be performed by Utah Surgeon William DeVries. He will cut away the heart's lower chambers (the ventricles), leaving the upper ones (the atria) intact. Then he will sew Dacron fittings to the aorta, pulmonary artery and atria. The artificial heart, actually two ventricles, is then snapped into place "like Tupperware," says DeVries. A plastic tube leads from each ventricle through openings made in the patient's abdomen to a breadbox-size console that controls the rate and pressure of air pulsed to the heart. The console in turn is connected to an air compressor. As air flows into each ventricle, it pushes a thin membrane upward, expelling blood that has entered through the atria out through the pulmonary artery and the aorta.

The Utah team expects no mechanical difficulties. A Jarvik 7 pumped water in a test tank from April 1978 until this March. Of more concern is the chance of infection, a problem that has occurred in about half of the implants in animals, often in tissue along the air hose lines. Though calves have lived an average of two to three months with artificial hearts (one, Tennyson, made it to 268 days), the researchers are wary of making predictions for human recipients. Says Jarvik: "It's likely a patient could live a year if he lives a day."

In March the FDA held up permission for implants in humans until the Utah team supplies additional details on how and when the mechanical device would be used. Last month a team of researchers from Temple University Hospital in Philadelphia implanted the Jarvik 7 in a woman who had been declared "brain dead." The device kept the woman's kidneys functioning and maintained blood pressure for two hours before doctors removed it for study.

According to DeVries, the first implants will be restricted to patients without other options, specifically those who at the finish of heart surgery cannot be weaned from the heart-lung machine that supports their circulation. Since the decision to implant an artificial heart will be made on the spot, the Utah team will have to outline the ramifications to the patient and get his permission before the original heart surgery. The patient will have to reside near Salt Lake City for a while to permit follow-up care. His living quarters will have to be on a single floor, with space available for the bulky support equipment, including an electrically run air compressor and tanks of compressed air for use during power failures. The person with the artificial heart will lead a fairly sedentary, chair-to-bed existence. "But we're not ruling out sex," says DeVries.

Some heart experts suggest that the Utah plans are overly ambitious, if not completely ill-advised. They are most disturbed by the practical and psychological consequences of tethering a patient to an air compressor. Jarvik and DeVries point out, however, that life with an artificial heart may actually be an improvement for some patients. "We're not talking about people who are active tennis players or swimmers," says DeVries. "These people are in terrible condition. They often have difficulty breathing, let alone doing anything else." Still, members of the Utah team acknowledge that some recipients may have difficulty coping. Says Utah's Willem Kolff, who developed the artificial kidney and also worked on a prototype artificial heart that was tested in dogs in 1957: "If someone knew he would otherwise be dead, he might accept that life as a precious gift. But if he decides he doesn't want it, he can take a pair of scissors and cut the air lines. And I'm not going to take away the scissors."




A better alternative, according to some researchers, is a device that could take over temporarily for either of the two main pumping chambers of the heart, particularly the workhorse left ventricle. These assist devices shunt blood from the ventricle to a pump outside the body that sends it directly to the abdominal aorta or femoral artery to continue its natural circulation. The heart is left intact but goes on a sort of holiday, rebuilding its strength so that it can later resume its full work load. Says John C. Norman of the Texas Heart Institute in Houston, who has been working on left ventricular devices since 1965: "If I take your heart out and put in a totally artificial heart, I have burned all bridges. If I put in an auxiliary heart, your own heart is still in and can help support the circulation."

No matter how dazzling, heart transplants and mechanical hearts are last-ditch measures. They will save, at best, a tiny fraction of the lives now claimed by heart disease. Fewer than 50 heart transplants are done each year in the U.S., owing to the difficulty of finding donors, the unsolved problem of tissue rejection and the high cost (averaging $100,000).

Ultimately, a successful artificial heart may be able to help more patients, perhaps a maximum of 50,000 annually. But the expense could be astronomical. Implanting the device will cost upwards of $30,000, and home equipment and maintenance will cost many thousands more. The Government now pays more than $1 billion a year to dialyze more than 50,000 patients with kidney disease. Should it also pick up the tab for artificial heart implants? Says Alabama's Kirklin: "Health-care delivery in this country is restrained by dollars available. I wonder what other things would be curtailed if a disproportionate share went to artificial hearts?"

In the long run the most significant advances may come from learning how the cardiovascular system works on a cellular and chemical level. Says Goodman: "If we can understand more about the disease process, we can do more to retard or prevent it." Cholesterol's role in heart disease should become clearer in 1983 when the first results from a National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute–sponsored study begun in 1976 become available. Pharmacologist Philip Needleman of Washington University in St. Louis predicts that within five years doctors will begin testing drugs that limit the clogging of blood vessels initiated by platelets. Says he: "This is not a remote dream. This is a strategy that will have important applications quickly."

Cardiologist Thomas James of the University of Alabama in Birmingham anticipates still other strides in basic knowledge. "In the next ten years," he says, "we will understand why artery walls degenerate and why hypertension happens, and develop the means for preventing both." Heredity's complex role in cardiovascular illness will be better understood as well. Says Robert Brandenberg of the Mayo Clinic: "We're probably just on the edge of a whole new series of breakthroughs."

He may be right if recent progress is any measure. Cardiovascular science has come a long way from 30 years ago, when all that could be done for a heart attack patient was to prescribe rest for four to six weeks. If innovations in diagnosis and treatment continue at the same impressive pace, cardiovascular disease may one day yield its claim to being the nation's No. 1 killer. *—By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Anne Constable/Atlanta and Dick Thompson/San Francisco, with other U.S. bureaus*

# The Best Medicine

No matter how many miracles doctors perform, coronary disease will never be brought under control unless the public pitches in. Says Cardiologist James Schoenberger, professor of preventive medicine at Chicago's Rush-Presbyterian–St. Luke's Medical Center: "We can't solve the problem with beta or calcium blockers, heart transplants, coronary bypasses or other forms of palliative medicine. The only solution is prevention." Easier said than done. Doctors disagree about the best way to go about it. Also, prevention requires the self-discipline to break some bad habits.

Over the years studies of large groups of people have identified several factors associated with an increased risk of heart disease. Men have a higher incidence of coronary-artery disease than premenopausal women. Whites in the U.S. suffer heart attacks with greater frequency than blacks or Orientals. The risk of developing heart disease is enhanced for diabetics and those with close family members who have died of heart attacks. Chances of an attack go up as a person grows older. Obviously, age, sex, race and heredity are beyond an individual's control. But there are other risk factors—high levels of cholesterol in the blood, cigarette smoking, high blood pressure, excess weight, stress and tension, lack of physical activity—that a person can do something about.

To reduce cholesterol levels most doctors recommend a very un-American diet. Says Dr. Jeremiah Stamler of Northwestern University: "We need more fruit, more vegetables, beans, fish, skim milk, lean meat and poultry. I'd like to see McDonald's have fresh orange juice as well as Coke, baked potatoes as well as French fries, yogurt instead of pie. If we could get more diet changes in the U.S. there would not be a big coronary problem in this country."

Skeptics disagree. While studies have shown that changes in diet can cut blood cholesterol, there is still no conclusive proof that these reductions prevent heart disease. Moreover, between 60% and 80% of the cholesterol in the blood does not come from food but is manufactured by the body. Eating fewer cholesterol-laden foods, argue critics of the diet-heart hypothesis, does not lower cholesterol levels enough to affect the rate of heart disease or attacks.

The cholesterol issue has been complicated in the past decade by new discoveries about the fatty proteins that carry cholesterol in the blood: high-density lipoprotein (HDL), low-density lipoprotein (LDL) and very-low-density lipoprotein (VLDL). HDL-cholesterol appears to be "good" cholesterol. Explains Dr. Antonio Gotto of the Baylor College of Medicine in Houston: "We think that high-density lipoprotein may work as a scavenger of cholesterol from the tissues, ridding the body of excess cholesterol." Research is under way to determine whether coronary disease can be fought more effectively by manipulating the levels of HDL and LDL.

Cigarette smoking is a top-ranking coronary culprit. It speeds up the heart rate, raises blood pressure and constricts blood vessels. Smokers in the U.S. are twice as likely as nonsmokers to have heart attacks. And while tobacco users are most often warned about lung cancer, statistics show that their chances of developing fatal heart disease are three times as great. The American Heart Association estimates that more than 120,000 deaths from heart disease could be avoided each year in the U.S. if people gave up cigarettes.

As studies of air-traffic controllers have shown, stress is closely linked to high blood pressure, which in turn is tied to more serious heart disease. One way to reduce stress is through regular exercise, which tones the body and increases the efficiency of the heart and lungs. The case for exercise was made persuasively by a 20-year study of 17,000 Harvard alumni, age 35 to 74, by Stanford Epidemiologist Ralph Paffenbarger. He found that men who made a lifetime habit of regular exercise (say, strenuous swimming or jogging three times a week) had about half as many heart attacks as those who were sedentary. Even smokers, overweight men and those with high blood pressure or family histories of heart disease benefited from exercise. Despite the Harvard study, however, the value of exercise in preventing coronary disease has not been conclusively shown.

DRAWING BY WHITNEY DARROW, JR.; ©1980 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

*"I'm sorry, Mr. Birdwell isn't making any more luncheon engagements until he's finished his twenty-one-day shapeup program."*

Preventive measures have largely been aimed at adults. But in the past few years there has been considerable interest in extending them to children. Says Dr. Charles Glueck of the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine: "If you want to prevent heart disease you can't start at the age of 45." Indeed, some researchers estimate as many as 5 million American children may have high cholesterol counts. Predicts Pediatric Cardiologist Dan McNamara of Baylor: "In the future there will be a time for a child's preventive cardiology checkup just as there now is a child's dental checkup."

Heart specialists contend that by studying family histories and taking blood pressure and cholesterol readings, they can pick out children with high risk of developing coronary disease. But many doctors consider such efforts premature since the efficacy of preventive measures has not been absolutely proved in adults. There is another concern as well. Says Pediatrician Neil Holtzman of Johns Hopkins Hospital: "By labeling children or young adults and letting them live under the ax of coronary heart disease for the rest of their lives, the anxiety that is generated may be worse than the possible benefits of the treatment itself."

Public enthusiasm for preventive measures has surged in recent years. San Francisco executives are stretching their muscles to the tune of *Do Ya Think I'm Sexy?*, while joggers crowd the indoor tracks of New York City Y.M.C.A.s day and night. More and more corporations are sponsoring physical fitness programs for their employees, often with the hope of improving cardiovascular health. A dramatic expression of national concern about heart attacks occurred when ABC's *20/20* program broadcast a test on coronary risk factors last February. The network asked viewers to rate themselves and send in the results. Some 40,000 responses were expected; instead, the Arizona Heart Institute, which devised the test, was deluged with 260,000 scores, some written on paper plates and restaurant receipts. Perhaps most heartening, one couple scrawled their scores on an empty heart-shaped candy box, explaining: "Because of your test, we threw out the rest."

# Theater

Rosato and DeMunn in *Semmelweiss*

## Dirty Hands

SEMMELWEISS *by Howard Sackler*

This is the tale of a cure and a crucifixion. Ignaz Philipp Semmelweiss (1818-65) was a pioneer in antisepsis. As a young doctor in the obstetrics wards of a Viennese hospital, Semmelweiss saw a dismaying number of women die in convulsive agony after giving birth. Because he dared to analyze the cause, Semmelweiss was hounded into madness by disbelieving colleagues and the inflexible Pooh-Bahs of European medicine. Despite a loving wife (Jeanne Koren) and sister (Mary Lou Rosato), he died as a historical martyr of truth.

This bio-documentary drama is presented by Stamford, Conn.'s Hartman Theater Company in the style of an epic panorama. Masterly orchestrated by Director Edwin Sherin to women's dying wails and the irate melodramatic confrontations of men in white whose hearts are black, *Semmelweiss* sifts its way to the stillness of revelation.

Semmelweiss studied the data and made the leap of inductive logic. Ward I was served by midwives and had a mortality rate of 2%. Ward II was served by interns and had a mortality rate of 13%. The midwives did not examine their pregnant patients. The interns did examine theirs—with unwashed hands, shortly after dissecting corpses. The agency of infection is clear, and so is the stormy response of complacently entrenched ignorance. In the title role, Jeffrey DeMunn is prickly, volatile and poignant. Playwright Sackler reanimates the theme of his *The Great White Hope:* a man who defies the norm and opens society's eyes may well be crushed by society's iron fist. —*By T.E. Kalem*

## Hello Out There

*William Saroyan: 1908-1981*

The story goes that in 1934, while a guest at San Francisco's Palace Hotel, Publisher Bennett Cerf was informed that "a young man who says he is the world's greatest author is in the lobby." Replied Cerf unhesitatingly: "Tell Mr. Saroyan to come right up." Playwright William Saroyan was still rambunctiously self-assured a few days before cancer killed him last week in Fresno, Calif. "Everybody has got to die," he said, "but I have always believed an exception would be made in my case."

It was an interesting case. Saroyan was born in Fresno, son of Armenian refugees who fled the Turkish massacres at the beginning of the century. He knew the wrench of separation and the insular poverty of California's little Armenias: Saroyan's early years were spent in an orphanage after his father died and his mother had to work full time. Like the young bringer of good news and bad in his screenplay turned novel *The Human Comedy*, Saroyan began his working life as a telegraph boy. When his short story *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze* won an O. Henry Award in 1934, the message was clear: a literary career had been launched.

The impressionistic paean celebrated "the superficial truth of streets and structures, the trivial truth of reality." Subsequent early stories offered the kind of warming uplift that a Depression-stricken nation wanted to hear. But there was a scratchier side to this earthy romanticism. In 1940 the playwright rejected a Pulitzer Prize for the Broadway hit *The Time of Your Life* on the grounds that business could not judge art. As a Hollywood scenarist he squabbled with studio heads and cut a raffish, boisterous figure. Gambling and drinking contributed to the breakup of his marriage and the decline of his fortunes. In 1958, owing $50,000 in taxes, he moved to a working-class neighborhood in Paris. During the '60s, he wrote gloomy memoirs under the titles *Not Dying* and *Don't Go, but If You Must, Say Hello to Everybody*. His novel *Boys and Girls Together* (1963) took a bleak view of marriage.

William Saroyan

Postwar critics showed little enthusiasm for Saroyan's tart sentimentalism and the anxious vitality of his plays. Yet the ease and charm of many of his stories will continue to inspire young writers. It is a legacy beyond criticism. ■

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# Education

## Prizes with No Strings Attached

*The MacArthur Foundation tries a new philanthropic tactic*

It was as if *The Millionaire* were rerunning in life. "Congratulations," said the telephone caller from Chicago, "you have just been awarded $248,000 over five years with no strings attached." Recalls Harvard Psychiatrist and Author Robert Coles, 51: "My wife and kids thought it was a joke."

Coles and 20 other scholars and artists learned last week that the giveaway was not a joke but a new talent search begun by Chicago's John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Its aim: finding creative people and helping them to make "discoveries or other significant contributions to society." Neither Coles nor any other recipient had applied for the MacArthur Prize fellowship. Nor could they have done so, since foundation policy bars anyone from nominating himself. Instead, recipients were chosen without their knowledge by a secret committee of more than 100 members drawn from the arts and sciences.

Stephen Wolfram

Leslie Marmon Silko

Robert Penn Warren

*Recipients were chosen without their knowledge by a secret nationwide committee.*

Winners ranged from Poet and Novelist Robert Penn Warren, 76, to Caltech Physicist Stephen Wolfram, 21, who received his Ph.D. in physics at age 20. Others included Soviet Emigré Poet Joseph Brodsky, 41; American Indian Poet Leslie Marmon Silko, 33; and Bell Laboratories Scientist Douglas D. Osheroff, 35. Warren will receive the maximum $60,000 a year, while young Physicist Wolfram gets the minimum, $24,000. The reason for the difference is that annual fees to fellows are on a sliding scale, based on their age. An extra $800 is added to the stipend for each year. As a result, those 45 and over will receive at least $224,000 during five years, a sum larger than the Nobel Peace Prize, currently $212,000.

At his Fairfield, Conn., home, Robert Penn Warren enthused: "The only way you can make quick cash off poetry is with poetry readings. This makes me free to do what I want to do, and what I want to do is write poetry." Commented Coles: "Now I may be able to hire some people to help me for the first time in my life. I've never been able to afford research assistants before."

The 2½-year-old MacArthur Foundation is the creation of the late John D. MacArthur, an eccentric who became a billionaire in the insurance business. With assets estimated at $862 million, the foundation is the nation's fourth largest, surpassing Rockefeller, Carnegie and Sloan, trailing only the Ford, Robert Wood Johnson and Andrew W. Mellon foundations. The rationale for the no-string fellowships is the argument that important breakthroughs in the past have been the work of lone geniuses devoid of grantsmanship. Said Foundation Director J. Roderick MacArthur, 60, John's son, in accepting the proposal: "My father believed in the individual as opposed to the institution. This captures that spirit—the risky betting on individual explorers while everybody else is playing it safe on another track."

Does it? Except for the youth of a few recipients, the first MacArthur fellows, though gleaming with accomplishments, are indistinguishable from typical grantsmen and grantswomen. In fact, many of the fellows have won other prestigious grants and awards (Pulitzer literary prizes, Woodrow Wilson fellowships, Danforth fellowships) in the past. Concedes MacArthur: "I wish a few more had been less established." Foundation staffers also fret about the possibility that the easy money could dull the personal drive of fellows. Roderick MacArthur takes a longer view: "If only a handful produce something of importance—whether it be a work of art or a major breakthrough in the sciences—it will have been worth the risk." ■


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# *Miranda:* Out of the Doghouse

*The Supreme Court broadens defendants' pretrial rights*

In countless speeches and court opinions, Chief Justice Warren Burger has criticized the "massive safeguards for accused persons" that, in his view, unduly hamper law enforcement and criminal justice. High among the safeguards that the legal community has always assumed he had in mind were those provided by the court's 1966 landmark ruling in *Miranda* vs. *Arizona*. That decision requires police, before they question someone they have arrested, to inform him of a brief list of rights, including his freedom to remain silent and to consult a lawyer. Indeed, since Burger became Chief Justice in 1969, his court has consistently—and sometimes ingeniously—avoided squarely applying the *Miranda* precedent. In two unanimous rulings last week, however, the court not only relied on but actually expanded the famous doctrine.

The first case involved an Arizona man named Robert Edwards, who was charged with robbery, burglary and murder. At his first interrogation, Edwards requested a lawyer. Next day, though Edwards had still seen no attorney, he talked to two detectives and implicated himself in the crimes. That admittedly voluntary confession, wrote Justice Byron White, was invalid because it had not been established that Edwards waived his right to counsel "intelligently and knowingly." White went on to announce a new rule: once a suspect invokes his right to remain silent until he consults a lawyer, he cannot undo it unless he himself "initiates further communication."

The ruling surprised legal scholars. Said University of Chicago Law Professor Geoffrey Stone: "In the past, this court basically put *Miranda* in the doghouse. Now it seems to be suggesting that, for better or worse, we accept it." Other experts pointed out that White's rule raised further questions to be settled in future cases—particularly as to what constitutes "initiating" communication.

The second decision involved a Texas prisoner named Ernest Smith, who was convicted of taking part in a grocery store robbery during which his accomplice killed a clerk. A judge asked Dallas Psychiatrist James Grigson to talk to Smith in jail to see if he was mentally competent to stand trial. Grigson decided that he was. After a jury found Smith guilty, it reconvened to sentence him—a procedure required by Texas law whenever the state seeks the death penalty. Grigson, a controversial figure with a striking record of testifying in favor of the death penalty *(see box)*, said that Smith felt no remorse and would always be a threat to society. The jury voted for execution.

There were two problems, Burger concluded in his opinion. First, no one warned the defendant that whatever he told Grigson during their 90-minute talk could be used to sentence him to death. Second, he was not allowed to consult his lawyer beforehand. Said Burger: "Just as the Fifth Amendment prevents a criminal defendant from being made 'the deluded instrument of his own conviction,' it protects him as well from being made the 'deluded instrument' of his own execution." Smith was not the only suspect to be deprived of these warnings; some 60 other condemned prisoners in Texas are now entitled to be resentenced ■

## They Call Him Dr. Death

He has a kindly face and lots of country-boy charm, but when Psychiatrist James Grigson, 48, shows up in a Texas courtroom, it is usually the kiss of death. The prosecution brings Grigson in for a sentencing hearing and asks him about the guilty man's inclination to commit violent crimes in the future. In each of more than 70 such proceedings since 1967, Grigson has testified that the defendant was a "sociopath" who was dangerous to society, and every time, with a single exception, the jury has unanimously voted for the ultimate penalty in Texas: death by injection. Says Peter Lesser, president-elect of the Dallas County Criminal Bar Association: "He is a witch doctor. They call him Dr. Death for a reason."

Psychiatrist Grigson

A former professor at Southwestern Medical School in Dallas, Grigson became a familiar courthouse figure while diagnosing people for commitment proceedings. As he tells it, one court veteran suddenly thought, "'Hey, here's a sane psychiatrist.' Instead of playing golf on Wednesday, I started doing legal work." Court cases now take up most of his professional time and, at $100 an hour, bring him some $60,000 a year. Says University of Texas Law Professor George Dix: "He is skillful and persuasive, and he doesn't talk down to the jury." Most important, says Dix, Grigson is more willing than most of his colleagues to make firm predictions about a defendant's future behavior.

Indeed, Grigson's predictions are what most trouble his critics. In the Ernest Smith case decided last week by the Supreme Court, the American Psychiatric Association filed a brief that questioned the use of testimony like Grigson's. Said the brief: "It gives the appearance of being based on expert medical judgment, when in fact no such expertise exists."

Grigson pooh-poohs such faintheartedness. He believes that during an hour of examining a defendant's past and searching for remorse, he can determine the likelihood of future violence. "Some prisoners really get their rocks off telling you about these horrible crimes," he says. In a few cases, Grigson has offered an opinion without conducting an interview, relying only on the suspect's record. "With enough evidence and arrests," he maintains, "you can show where a person is coming from." About a third of the time, the pretrial interview convinces Grigson there is hope for the defendant and he does not testify for the prosecution.

Dallas Defense Attorney Richard Anderson suggests that Grigson fills a psychological need of jurors. "When they are making a life-or-death decision, they want to believe that an individual who would do these horrible things is a different species from them," says Anderson. "He tells them this person doesn't deserve to live. He makes a decision easier."

Anderson caused the only exception in Grigson's record. During testimony by the psychiatrist, Anderson asked him to evaluate not his own client but, hypothetically, a deprived black who had a record of several arrests before going to prison at 19 for a violent offense. "What would be your prognosis?" Anderson asked. Grigson said he saw only more of the same ahead. The lawyer then revealed that the case history belonged to Ron LeFlore, now a star for the Chicago White Sox. Even so, Anderson just barely succeeded. Eleven of the twelve jurors wanted to mete out the death penalty anyway.

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# Sheepmen Are Going to the Dogs

*In the great coyote war, a splendid Old World weapon*

Coyotes are small (about 30 lbs.), fast, clever and notably fond of mutton chops. For years U.S. sheepmen have trapped them, shot them from airplanes, and laid out wholesale poisons. But in 1972 the Nixon Administration banned the use of poison on federal grazing lands because it kills more than just coyotes. The scattered chemicals—usually a nerve drug called Compound 1080—also felled birds, including endangered species like the bald eagle, not to mention foxes, badgers, opossums, raccoons and pet dogs.

Now coyotes are blamed for killing more than a million sheep a year, and sheepmen are clamoring for resumption of open chemical warfare. The U.S. Department of the Interior, meanwhile, has been experimenting with more specific anticoyote tactics. In one method, sheep are outfitted with a poison-filled collar; if a coyote takes a bite, it soon bites the dust. Another device, the so-called M-44, involves a spring-loaded tube covered with bait and planted in the ground. When a coyote begins tugging at the bait, the device fires a lethal dose of cyanide into its mouth. In an attempt at aversion therapy, Government-funded scientists have even scattered chunks of lamb meat dosed with an emetic. Any coyote who samples the stuff quickly becomes ill. The object: to make coyotes feel that sheep are sickening. All these things have proved too inefficient or too costly to be much help. Is there, then, any safe, cheap and humane way of containing coyotes? Perhaps, say biologists. U.S. sheepmen have traditionally allowed sheep to roam their ranges, fenced in but otherwise untended by shepherds or dogs. Now they are being urged simply to bring back the faithful sheep dogs that have been used in Europe and Asia for centuries.

Not just any sheep dog will do. Such familiar breeds as the collie and German shepherd are herding dogs. They will drive a flock from place to place and keep sheep from straying. But such dogs need constant supervision. What is required is a different kind of canine, guarding dogs that will patiently watch over a flock for weeks at a time, even in a lonely pasture. A rancher need only appear occasionally to leave food. Usually large (up to 135 lbs.) and slow to anger, the animals stir to action only when their charges are threatened. They live with the flock almost as if they were sheep themselves.

One favorite breed, the Hungarian Komondor, is a big, lovable-looking beast as shaggy as a sheep. Komondors have been protecting flocks from wolves for centuries in Hungary. Now they are standing guard over American sheep in more than two dozen states from the Rockies to New England. Other Old World breeds are beginning to appear on U.S. ranches as well: the Anatolian shepherd; the Great Pyrenees from the mountains between France and Spain; the Italian Maremma; the Yugoslavian shepherd or Shar Planinetz; and the Kuvasz, a short-haired Hungarian cousin of the Komondor.

Until a few years ago, these animals were virtually unheard of in the U.S. But thanks to new importing and breeding programs, guarding dogs, which cost $300 to $1,000 apiece, are being inexpensively leased to any sheep farmer willing to try them. Almost at once sheep losses have been sharply cut, surprising even skeptical ranchers. "Ninety percent rate the dogs as good to excellent," says Wildlife Biologist Jeffrey Green, who has been raising Komondors and Great Pyrenees at the U.S. Sheep Experiment Station at Dubois, Idaho. He adds: "These dogs are three times as big as coyotes. One on one, the dog always wins. But usually the coyote just turns tail. Many won't even approach the flock because of the dog's scent."

**A Western coyote surveys his turf**

*Small, clever and fond of mutton chops.*

Not all dogs live up to expectations, say Biologists Ray and Lorna Coppinger, who have raised hundreds of animals at Hampshire College's New England Farm Center in Amherst, Mass. A couple of dogs have wandered off into the hills and disappeared. Others have been killed by traffic, electric wires or misplaced M-44s. Some dogs are naturally boisterous and need special handling; a few have turned out to be sheep killers. To work properly, guarding dogs must be introduced to sheep as pups so that by maturity they are totally at ease with the flock—and vice versa. When a predator approaches, the sheep tend to converge behind the dog. "They recognize him as a security blanket," says Zoologist Jack McGrew of Colorado State University, where Komondors have been tested for three years. Ewes in labor sometimes seek out the protection of the dog. Usually this trust is more than reciprocated. Dogs have been known to lick the newborn lambs and even cuddle them through the night to protect them from the cold. *—By Frederic Golden. Reported by Joseph Pilcher/Los Angeles*

**An Italian Maremma contemplating a herd in Massachusetts**

**A Hungarian Komondor stands guard on a ranch in Texas**

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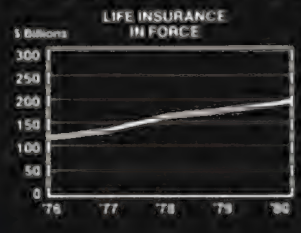


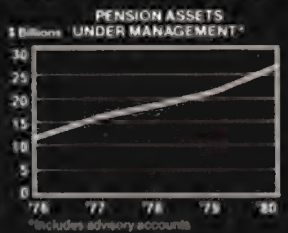


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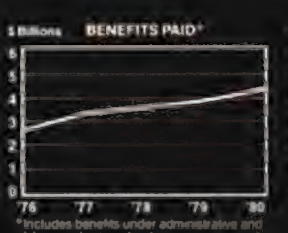
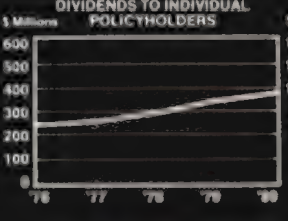



*Includes benefits under administrative and claims services contracts

*Includes all assets managed by Equitable



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HNV 47

# "The Coupe."

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It is, hyperbole aside, a genuine masterpiece in advanced automobile design. Ahead of conventional grand touring cars.

The Coupe is a beneficiary of the innovative engineering that went into the Audi 5000 and 4000 series automobiles. All of its systems and components have been carefully thought out and developed.

This high performance GT machine offers an invigorating ride, with outstanding quickness and tracking.

The Audi Coupe classic low-front, high-back wedge shape is an aerodynamic tour de force.

Standing still the Coupe looks fast. It is as fast as it looks. 0 to 50 in just 7.4 seconds.

Heart of this performance is the CIS fuel-injected, 5-cylinder engine invented by Audi; this efficient engine has been further refined to give the Coupe exceptional compressive power. No less sophisticated is the 5-speed transmission and the front-wheel drive, which in all candor is without peer. Audi pioneered front-wheel drive half a century ago, long before it became fashionable.

Yet all of this exhilarating performance is accomplished without sacrificing economy. The Coupe is an ethical GT machine, truly responsive to the energy dilemma: EPA estimated 21 mpg. 36 mpg estimated highway. Its cruising range also is impressive: 331 estimated miles per tankful. Highway range, 568 estimated miles. From its 15.8-gallon tank.

Inside the new Coupe the biomechanical engineering by Audi's scientists is immediately evident.

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*Use "estimated mpg" for comparison. Mileage and range vary with speed, trip length, weather. Actual highway mpg and highway range will probably be less.

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# Audi

Photograph—Neuschwanstein Castle, Bavaria

# BEYOND MEDICARE: LET THE BUYER BEWARE

PHOENIX—A few unscrupulous insurance agents were playing on the fears of the elderly. They told scare stories about major illnesses that could cause financial ruin. They sold medical insurance policies they promised would pay all bills Medicare does not cover. The policies often provided much less coverage than the agents claimed.

Reporter David Page and photographer Bill Timmer of KPNX-TV in Phoenix investigated complaints about these misrepresented policies.

Using a hidden camera, they documented actual sales presentations by insurance agents to a 72-year-old widow. The evidence supported complaints that agents were glossing over details and leaving out important information about waiting periods, policy exclusions and limitations. It was information the elderly insurance purchaser usually found out too late.

The KPNX-TV investigation aired in a four-part series, "Policies and Promises."

As a direct result, the Arizona Insurance Department acted against those who were giving the health-insurance industry a bad name. It suspended six agents and revoked the licenses of three others. Facing possible cancellation of its permit to sell insurance in Arizona, one company agreed to a plan which could return more than $250,000, and a third of that amount has already been refunded to 654 victimized policy holders.

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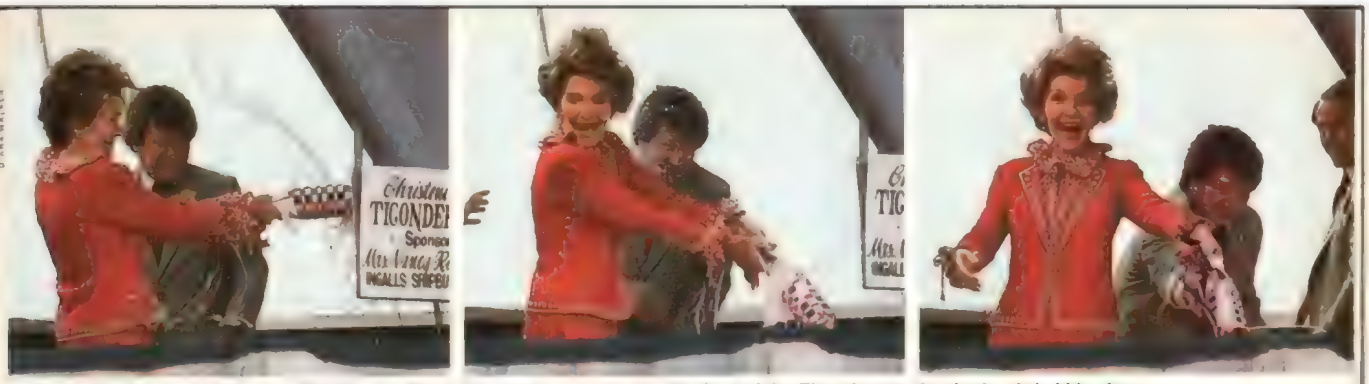


Decked out in her Adolfo reds, Righthander Nancy Reagan pops a winner on the bow of the *Ticonderoga*, then bathes in bubbly glory

# People

Swing. Splash. Surprise. No one was more surprised than First Lady **Nancy Reagan**, 59, at the successful christening of the 560-ft. guided-missile cruiser U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* at the Ingalls shipyard in Pascagoula, Miss. Said she: "All I could think of was 'Lord, I am going to go down in history with Mrs. Truman!' " First Lady **Bess Truman** had struck out when she tried to crack a champagne bottle against the nose of the C-54 *U.S. Capitol* in 1945. Though that plane got no kicks from champagne, this ship did. Nancy, a righty (natch), uncorked a swing with enough *brut* force to christen not only the *Ticonderoga*, but herself and a few onlookers. The scouting report on Mrs Reagan: a good spray hitter

Spillane skippering new course

■

It is hard to recognize him without his custom-made porkpie hat and Dick Tracy suits, but that almost affable-looking skipper is former Tough Guy **Mickey Spillane.** Though he still has a mug that would halt traffic on the New Jersey Turnpike, it may be that the gravel-voiced master of hard-boiled detective fiction has finally gone soft. Spillane, 63, has taken to writing children's books. His first, *The Day the Sea Rolled Back* (Bantam, $1.75), is about two boys on a search for buried treasure. They run into a couple of villains who might have felt at home in any one of Mickey's eleven Mike Hammer mysteries. The bad guys are grown-ups, of course. "Kids always see adults as villains," says Spillane. "Other kids are just someone to play with."

■

Tipped off by another competitor, a female official at the Miss U.S.A. Pageant in Biloxi, Miss., hauled **Deborah Fountain,** 25, Miss New York State, backstage and unceremoniously yanked down the top of her swimsuit. Gads! It turned out that Deborah had added a little, er, pomp to her 35-23-35 circumstance. Explaining that she had lost 15 lbs. after the recent death of her younger brother, Miss New York admitted that she had padded the suit's bra with foam. When the strategy bounced back, Miss U.S.A. organizers expelled her from the competition. Fountain countered that some of her peers had cantilevered their chests with permanent breast implants. Contestants flatly denied the charge, and pageant officials went on to select as Miss U.S.A. Ohio Beauty **Kim Seelbrede,** 20.

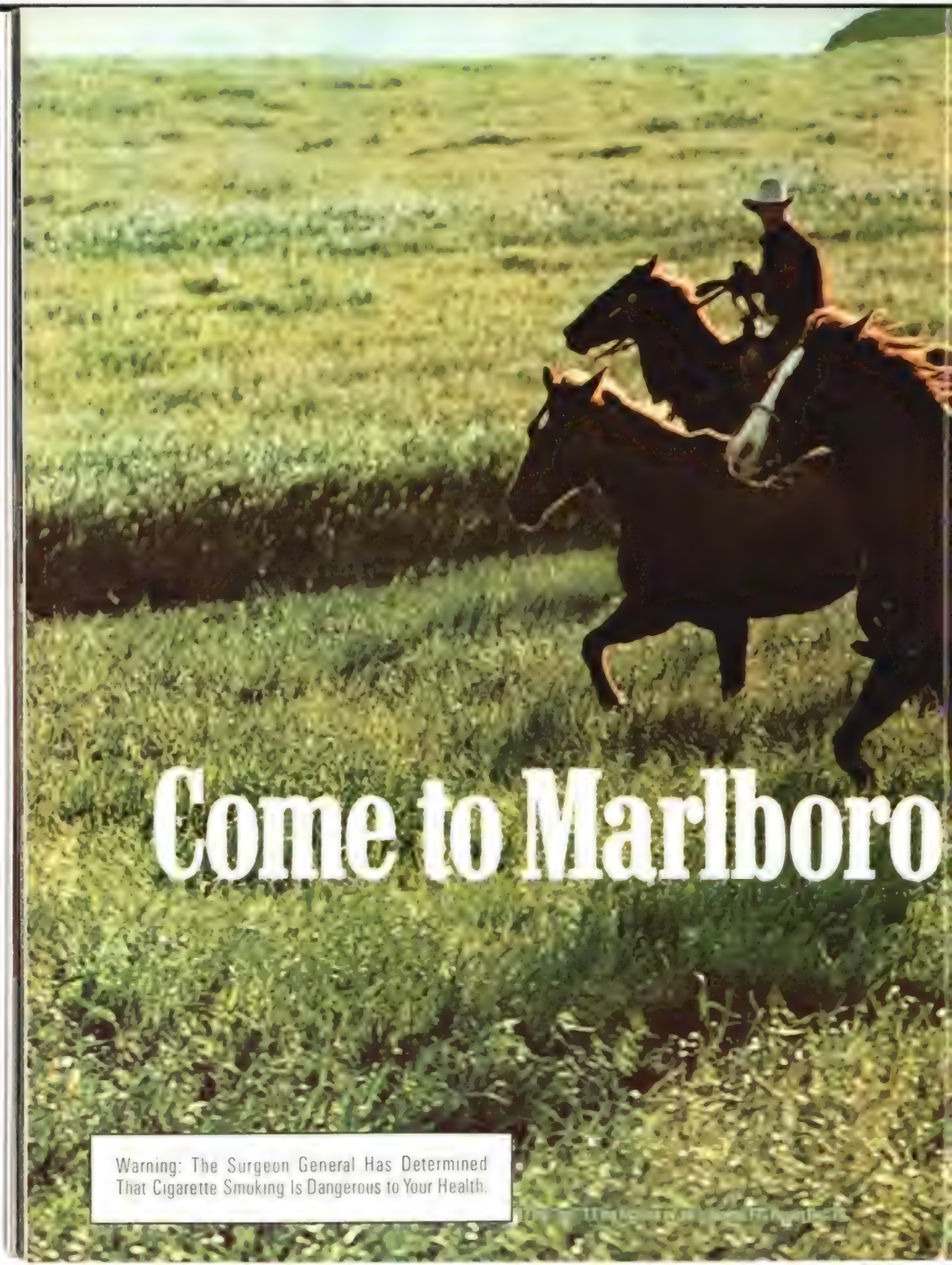
Fountain sharing an uplifting moment with Zade Turner, Miss S.C.

■

Since there is nothing like a dame, only a cockeyed optimist could confuse **Bob Hope** with the real thing. The comedian shed his golf togs and donned a tropically fruity outfit for this week's NBC-TV special celebrating his 78th birthday and the 40th anniversary of the U.S.O. During the taping at West Point before 25,000 cadets, officers and onlookers, Hope sprang eternal. He sparred with **Sugar Ray Leonard** and teamed up with **Mary Martin,** 67, to reprise a number from *South Pacific*. "If I entered the Miss U.S.A. contest," said Hope, "I'd probably get disqualified for the coconuts."

*—By E. Graydon Carter*

Hope giving Martin a view of his high Cs in *South Pacific* spoof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# Their Cup Runneth Over

*Islanders win a second straight Stanley—and dream of more*

An embarrassment for the New York Islanders. They led the Minnesota North Stars by a lopsided three games to none in the finals of the Stanley Cup playoffs. The Islanders, defending Stanley Cup champions, were simply overwhelming the young, plainly awed North Stars. The champagne (nonvintage California) was waiting in the locker room, chilled and ready for postvictory pouring. Some of the Islanders' wives had even flown out to Minneapolis to be on hand for the inevitable festivities.

The celebration had to wait. Playing with the concentration of condemned men, the North Stars wrestled a 4-2 win from the Islanders. While equipment managers packed up the champagne for the return trip to home ice, the Nassau Coliseum in Uniondale, L.I., the New Yorkers brooded about their loss. "Of course we wanted the sweep," Coach Al Arbour admitted. "But I know my team, and they'll be ready for the next one." They were ready all right, crushing Minnesota 5-1 to win their second consecutive Stanley Cup. The Islanders were never really in trouble. They scored three goals, two of them within 25 seconds of each other, in first-period play and one each in the second and third periods. Said Defenseman Denis Potvin: "We did it in high fashion."

The victory was nice, but it could have been much nicer. The Islanders did not want just a Stanley Cup; they wanted it in a four-game sweep. Dynasties expect such things, and in the nine years since the team was formed, the Islanders have built hockey's most powerful extended family. They did it right, beating the backwoods for young players rather than trading for stars, running their Indianapolis farm team as if it were a hockey college, not a franchise, and, finally, trading for the finishing touches. The result: twelve wins and 60 losses their first season, a winning record and a playoff berth their third year, and the Stanley Cup in their eighth—and now ninth—year. With an average age of just 26, the New Yorkers might just remain on top for some time to come

The main forces behind the Islanders' rise are President and General Manager Bill Torrey, 46, and Coach Arbour, 48. Torrey is a bespectacled, sweet-faced former college hockey player and executive of the old California Seals, whose unassuming demeanor camouflages one of the most astute minds in sport. The self-possessed, quietly dressed Arbour, who could pass for a NASA flight controller, is a former defenseman and one of the most innovative coaches in the game. It was Arbour who sent his players to an ophthalmologist to work on hand-eye coordination and hired a figure-skating coach to improve footwork. Torrey kept his team going in the face of bankruptcy for years after the Islanders' former owner, Businessman Roy Boe, overextended himself trying to finance a franchise in the National Basketball Association.

M.V.P. Goring skates free

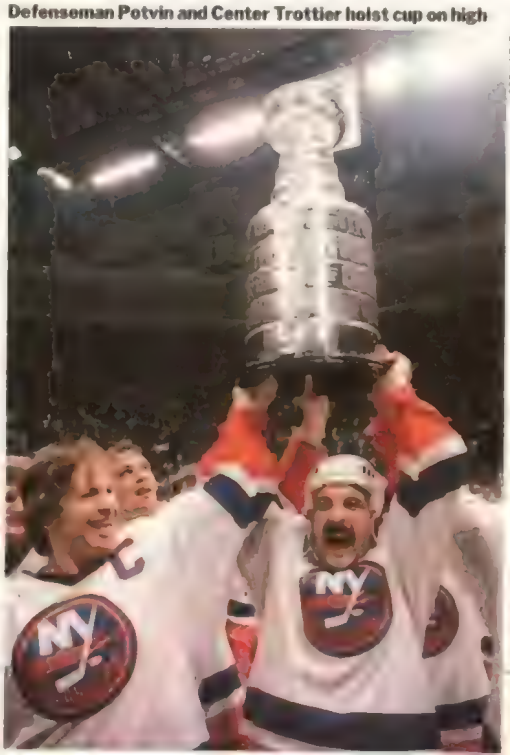
Even in those hectic early days, Torrey and his scouts found time to scour the junior leagues for future talent. They turned up three N.H.L. Rookies of the Year in five seasons—Potvin (1974), Center Bryan Trottier (1976) and Right Wing Mike Bossy (1978). Potvin, three times defenseman of the year, was the first pick in the 1973 amateur draft. But 21 teams passed over Trottier, now the game's most complete player, and 14 clubs had a shot at Bossy, the N.H.L.'s top goal scorer, but chose other players. Of this year's 24-man Stanley Cup team, 16 were taken in the amateur draft. Only once have the Islanders traded away a draft choice, a second-round pick during the team's inaugural season. Says Torrey: "Sure, everybody has scouts. Ours are just better." Torrey's scouts look for special qualities too. Says he: "Whether a player can skate or shoot the puck is obvious. We look for a certain character, players who can fit in with each other and live and grow together for a long time."

Oddly enough, what propelled the Islanders to the top was not their growing success over the years but their worst setback: losing to the rival New York Rangers in the 1979 Stanley Cup semifinals after compiling the best regular-season record in hockey that year (51 wins, 15 losses, 14 ties). Stung by the defeat, the Islanders rolled over the Philadelphia Flyers the following year, four games to two, to win the cup. Says Bossy: "To come back from such a disastrous letdown is what made this team." Adds Torrey: "Sometimes adversity is the best teacher. We let the players absorb it, feel the frustration."

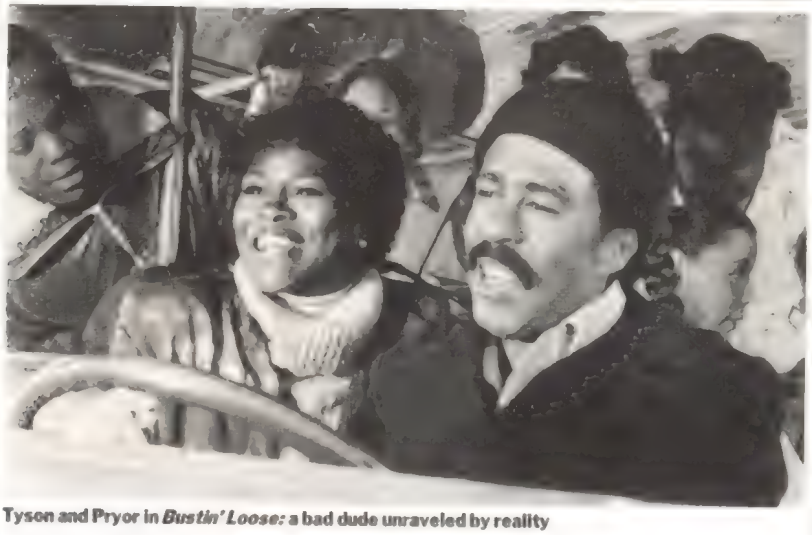
The Islanders learned their lessons well. They shored up some weak spots with a few key trades. The most important acquisition was Center Butch Goring, who leads the Islanders' record-setting penalty-killing unit and was named series M.V.P. While the farm team continues to produce nascent stars (Rookie Billy Carroll stepped into a starting role in midseason), the old guard just gets better (Trottier set a Stanley Cup record by notching either a goal or an assist in every game of the playoffs). Potvin, at 27 the team's elder statesman, insists that the Islanders have earned a long reign: "For so many playoff years, we had to work without much talent and without much success. We got knocked down, but we got back up again next season. The persistence that this team has shown deserves to be recognized."

Of course the Islanders have not yet earned a place alongside the dynasties of hockey's glorious past—the Detroit Red Wings of the 1950s, the Toronto Maple Leafs of the 1960s, the mighty Montreal Canadiens (ten cups since 1965). But Arbour insists that his players have already achieved something equally important: "The kids in the juniors have heard about the Islanders' tradition. In a very short period of time, the Islanders have come to mean a quest for excellence." So far, the quest has not gone badly. —*By B.J. Phillips. Reported by Jamie Murphy/Uniondale*

Defenseman Potvin and Center Trottier hoist cup on high



# Cinema



**Tyson and Pryor in *Bustin' Loose*: a bad dude unraveled by reality**

## Cooling Out

BUSTIN' LOOSE
*Directed by Oz Scott*
*Screenplay by Roger L. Simon*

He's a bad dude, cool and sassy, street smart and maybe even mean if somebody tries to hassle him. Anyway, he will have you know that there is plenty of righteous rage underneath his hipster's slickness—better not mess with him.

But his eyes betray him. Whenever his image is challenged, or even when he merely pauses to contemplate the possible consequences of his outrageous shuck, they grow round with alarm. Then there is the problem of body language. Just when he is smoothing along nice and easy, something will throw him off-stride, and he will be afflicted by these strange jerks and twitches. And that says nothing about the sudden babbles of overexplanation that seize him when someone in authority intrudes on one of his scenes.

Out of this discontinuity between the image he desperately wants to project and a reality that is considerably less grand, Richard Pryor has created, in such otherwise indifferent movies as *Silver Streak* and *Stir Crazy*, what may be the current screen's most appealing comic persona. His style may come from the ghetto, but his screen character is an everyman offering a sometimes poignant, but always funny, commentary on male fantasies of knowledgeability and bravado.

Considering his box office strength, one would think that Pryor could command the creation of vehicles to match his gift. Or perhaps he likes being the best thing about a picture, since he functioned as his own producer on *Bustin' Loose*, and it is, if anything, more inept—certainly more overtly sentimental—than his other films. In his new movie Pryor plays a sometime con, forced by his parole officer to drive a bus from Philadelphia to the State of Washington if he wishes to avoid a return to jail. The passengers are the lawman's fiancée (Cicely Tyson) and a group of variously troubled, and variously adorable, children, whose orphanage has been closed and who seek a home on a farm owned by Tyson's aunt and uncle. From the moment the antique vehicle sputters out onto the turnpike, one knows what is going to happen: by sharing a number of misadventures, the man and the woman will fall in love, and the youngsters will learn to abandon their wayward ways. The children's growing affection for their driver will, in turn, soften him so that he can be molded into respectability in time for a denouement that will not miss a single upbeat note.

That plot would be serviceable enough if the incidents that mark the cross-country passage were fully exploited for comedy or suspense, or if any of the characters were allowed to stray from their totally predictable path. And surely an actress as talented as Tyson should be given some material that would show her as something more amusing than Miss Priggy.

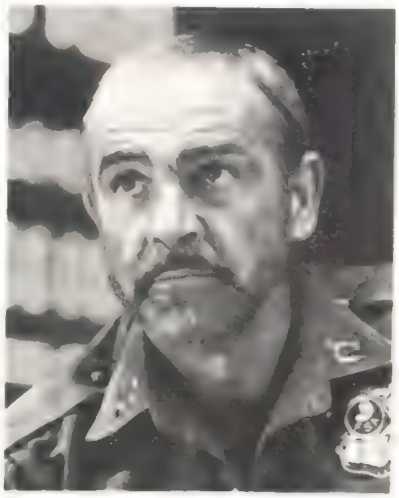
Still, there *is* Pryor. Whether he is trying to keep up his nerve while holding up a television store, getting the Ku Klux Klan to help push the bus out of the mud, or merely riding a horse for the first time, he has an indestructible charm. Another comedian might grow desperate in such unpromising circumstances. Not Pryor. The easy subtlety of his glances and gestures, never too big, always wonderfully readable, almost convinces one that something worthwhile is happening here—or is about to. One remains alert to his possibilities. And wishes that the people who make his pictures would try to attain a similar state. —*By Richard Schickel*

## High Moon

OUTLAND
*Directed and Written by Peter Hyams*

In 1979 two events took place that inspired Peter Hyams to make this outerspace thriller. On March 9, the NASA space probe Voyager I discovered an erupting volcano on Io, the innermost Galilean moon of Jupiter; and on May 25, 20th Century–Fox released the film *Alien*. Io gave Hyams his setting: a futuristic mining colony that looks like a gigantic Tinkertoy. *Alien* provided much of the rest: a crew of steel-spined, me-first mercenaries stalked by a mysterious killer. (In *Alien* it was a mutating monster; here it is a dangerous drug.) Mix them together with the plot from the old Gary Cooper western *High Noon* and you have the formula for this summer's big-budget sci fi–horror clone.

If *Outland* has anything besides familiarity going for it, it is the presence of Sean Connery as a New Frontier marshal who comes to Io to clean the place up. Connery is perhaps the one genuine romantic hero in the movies now. He is strong; he is soft. He can be hurt physically, and take it; he can be hurt emotionally, and show it. *Outland* gives Connery every chance to strut and smolder and sends him off on one splendid chase sequence. The rest is strained silliness. Good Guy Connery knows that Bad Guy Peter Boyle is out to kill him, but instead of gunning him down, Connery waits till the end of the movie to wreak his vengeance—by socking Boyle in the nose. Maybe that's how disputes will be settled on the cold moons of Jupiter, but Hyams might have delivered a stronger jolt to the audience if he had dared to follow the tone suggested by his title. —*By Richard Corliss*



**Connery in *Outland***
*A clone on the last frontier*

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# A Time to Live and to Die

DAD *by William Wharton; Knopf; 449 pages; $12.95*

The drama of parents and children begins as a love story, perhaps the most engrossing one that life ever offers. The plot then thickens considerably, and happy resolutions of all the ensuing difficulties are rare. Ordinarily, death rings down the curtain in mid-scene, leaving the younger actors with lines unspoken and an abrupt change in casting; whatever else they may play, they can be sons and daughters no longer.

*Dad* portrays both the loss and the continuity in this irrevocable process of change. Author William Wharton creates a middle-aged hero who must simultaneously witness the rapid decline of his father and the growing independence of his own son. This summary may scare off droves of readers. Living through such an experience is bad enough; why borrow trouble by vicariously sharing someone else's? But *Dad* is more than a chronicle of pain and dissolution. It shows how stories that began with love can end that way too.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY TOM MARCELLINO

**An artist's vision of an aging parent and the shadow of his child**

*Showing how stories that began with love can end that way too.*

John Tremont, 52, an American-born painter living in France, flies to Los Angeles after learning of his mother's heart attack. He finds her in a serious but stable condition; his father worries him more. At age 72, Dad has sunk into a lethargy that borders on inertia. Tremont sets him some routine household chores, then coaxes him into the outside world, and the old man begins to show sparks of vitality: "You get in the habit of working and then forget how to have fun." After a minor operation, however, Dad slides into senility. Tremont brings him home from the hospital and tries caring for an incontinent adult incapable of feeding himself. The effort is heroic but doomed. Dad is sent to a nursing home, presumably to die.

Instead, the patient regains his mind as suddenly as he lost it. He becomes, for a while, an overage hippie, buying offbeat costumes at the Salvation Army and riding on the back of a motorcycle with his son. Tremont's sister and daughter, who both live near by, bask in this sunny remission; his son Billy, a college dropout, shows up and is equally delighted. After a lifetime spent working at factory jobs he hated, Dad is finally enjoying himself. The only one unhappy about all this is Mom, who fears that her husband of 50 years has become a stranger. She throws an extended tantrum. Before too long, Dad is back in the nursing home. Tremont mourns: "He's gone, totally, completely gone." Giving up at last, Tremont packs Billy into a car and drives cross-country. His destination is Philadelphia, where he grew up, and yet another sojourn with his past before going home to Paris.

Tremont's long vigil in Los Angeles and the trip back East are told in alternating chapters. Folded together this way, the two stories underscore Tremont's uneasy, mid-life situation. He cleans up for his ailing father and for his sloppy son; he sleeps, on different occasions, in the same room with both. Observing this pattern, he muses on its meaning: "I'm caught up, beached, between two tides, the old one of fathering-husbanding and the new one of aging-dying." Occasionally, a third voice interrupts the narrative. It is Dad's mind, rehearsing the elaborate fantasy that has been a retreat for most of his adult life. In it, he owns the farm that he always wanted, raises a family of four (not two, as in that other place), lives in harmony with his wife, and moves to the slow dance of the seasons.

The presence of this obsessive, comforting vision links *Dad* to *Birdy* (1979), Wharton's acclaimed first novel about an adolescent boy who wants to become a canary and fly. But *Dad* is a rather more tenuous success than its predecessor. For one thing, it dissipates some of its power in prolixity. When Dad goes through his brief recovery, Tremont notes, within a few pages, "he's like a seventeen-year-old . . . he could have some feelings of being physically thirteen or fourteen years old . . . he has all the ego isolation and drive of a twenty-year-old." These sound like random thoughts, not the shaped statements of a narrator on top of his material. Tremont's treatment of his mother also provokes uneasiness. He seems blind to his bias against her, even though his own words reveal how eager he is to free his father by reining her in.

Ultimately, the effectiveness of *Dad* lies beyond logic. The novel has the feel of an intense autobiography, not recollected in tranquillity but dashed off from life, with all its uncertainties, mixed motives and false starts preserved intact. Wharton, himself an artist and an American expatriate in France, has photographed this story instead of painting it. But, like the best snapshots, *Dad* is touching, commemorative and candid. —*By Paul Gray*

## Excerpt

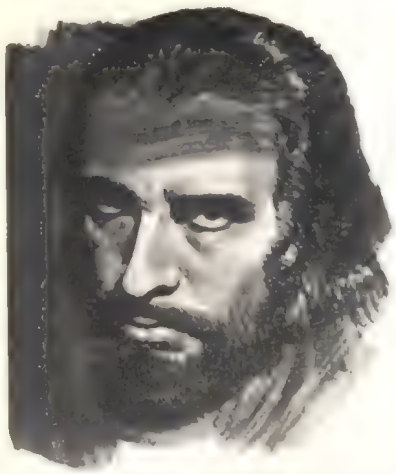
"Early in the morning of the fifth night, I wake to the usual jingling of glass and metal, the main sound in a hospital. There's a pale gray light coming through the window and I listen to the early going-to-work traffic. It's the time when I usually have my most depressed thoughts. I'm lying in bed, half thinking, half in suspended animation.

I glance over at Dad. His eyes are open and he's looking at me! I mean he's looking *at* me, not past me, or through me or around me! He's looking into my eyes!

I slide out of bed on his side and approach carefully. At first, I think maybe he died in the night, but his eyes are live, they follow me, keeping me in focus. I come to the edge of his bed. His mouth opens twice, dry pale lips, paper-frail. But he gets out a sound, a thin, high voice almost falsetto.

'Where am I, Johnny?'

I can't believe it!"



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# Couples

THE INTIMATE SEX LIVES OF FAMOUS PEOPLE

*by Irving, Amy and Sylvia Wallace and David Wallechinsky*

*Delacorte; 618 pages; $14.95*

Birds do it, and so do bees and even educated fleas. But human beings are the only ones who make money writing about it, and it is the Wallaces of course father, daughter, mother and son—who have reduced the practice to its final and most lucrative essence: an encyclopedia of what our celebrated betters, lessers, do between the sheets. How was Napoleon in bed? Or Victor Hugo, Eva Perón or Virginia Woolf? Just ask the Wallaces. (The short answers: terrible, terrific, often and rarely.)

With the patience of prospectors, the authors and their assistants have unearthed revealing passages from a whole library of 1,500 biographies, autobiographies and manuscripts. They are shy only about naming their sources, and wise

Marilyn Monroe

readers will approach some of their 206 case histories with the same skepticism they would a Pulitzer prizewinning newspaper story. Most of their tales, however, have been confirmed elsewhere, and the Wallaces know at least one fact absolutely: percales are threaded with gold

The gold is sometimes tarnished or alloyed. Virginia Woolf, who was married at 30, sadly reported that the orgasm had been immensely exaggerated. "It is a great thing being a eunuch as I am," she insisted. But she was not, and she had at least one lesbian affair, with fellow Author Vita Sackville-West

If Woolf was a bit put off by the prospect of bedtime congress, Leo Tolstoy was positively appalled. "Man can endure earthquake, epidemic, dreadful disease, every form of spiritual torment," he said "But the most dreadful tragedy that can befall him is and will remain the tragedy of the bedroom." Tolstoy went so far as to write a book advocating celibacy, *The Kreutzer Sonata*, but his wife had what she angrily called "the real postscript." Not long after publication, she became pregnant

Virginia Woolf

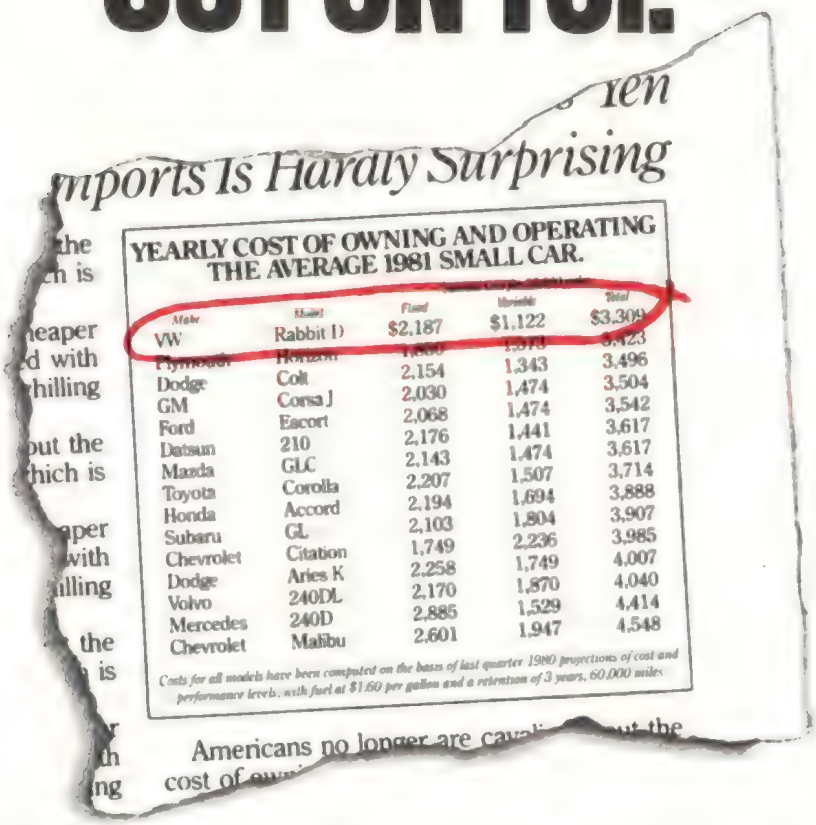
Fortunately, most people—at least in this list—have had more pleasure from sex. H.G. Wells could scarcely resist any woman, and at one time induced his second wife to nurse his ailing first wife while he was seeing his mistress. Author Rebecca West. Wells was not exactly a God-fearing man, and in a letter to West he explained why: "God has no thighs and no life. When one calls to him in the silence of the night he doesn't turn over and say, 'What is the trouble, dear?' "

Alexandre Dumas *père* was another happy satyr; women referred to him, with awe, as a "force of nature." Dumas also had a happy disposition, and since he could not be faithful himself, he did not ask fidelity from others. He once caught a friend in his wife's bedroom, and, instead of starting the usual tiresome scene, invited him to spend the night. The next morning he shook the man's hand. "Shall two old friends quarrel about a woman," he asked, "even when she's a lawful wife?" Like a good father, he gave his discarded loves to his son, but Dumas *fils* eventually complained about the hand-me-downs: "You know, Father, it's a great bore, you always giving me your old mistresses to sleep with and your new boots to break in!" Retorted Dad: "You should look on it as an honor. It proves you have a thick organ and a narrow foot."

What the mistresses said about Dumas and Son has gone unrecorded, but it is a fact that many of the women in this book have used sex to get what men expected by right. To Marilyn Monroe, Hollywood was an "overcrowded brothel," where actresses had to sleep their way to the screen. She dispensed her favors to

Victor Hugo

# WHEN THEY COMPARED BOTTOM LINES, RABBIT DIESEL CAME OUT ON TOP.

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## Books

Producer Joe Schenck, and then went on to affairs of the heart with Marlon Brando, Milton Berle, Yves Montand and Frank Sinatra. Later, they say, she had "secret assignations with President Kennedy," whose performance she cryptically described as "very democratic."

Eva Perón also slept her way to the top, starting at 14 with a second-rate tango singer and ending up with the dictator of Argentina. She was not above having a little fun as well, and once had a fling with Aristotle Onassis. "It is natural for a woman to give herself, to surrender herself for love," burbled Evita. "No woman's movement will be glorious and lasting . . . if it does not give itself to the cause of a man." But when it comes to sex, what is natural has many interpretations —some of them very odd indeed. Vincent Van Gogh's rather wise remark should perhaps stand as the last word on the subject: "The world seems more cheerful if, when we wake up in the morning, we find we are no longer alone and that there is another human being beside us in the half-dark." —*By Gerald Clarke*

## Complex Justice

THE ENIGMA OF FELIX FRANKFURTER
*by H.N. Hirsch*
*Basic Books; 253 pages; $14.95*

Felix Frankfurter was a Jewish immigrant who became an Anglophile snob. He was a shameless flatterer who fired a secretary for flattering him. He could be sparkling, open and warm. He could also be strident, bitter and neurotic. Fifteen years after his death, Frankfurter remains one of the most influential jurists of this century. Yet while serving on the U.S. Supreme Court, he increasingly failed to sway his colleagues. He was an early supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union and a defender of Sacco and Vanzetti. Yet, as a Justice, he spent 24 years vainly trying to halt the high court's historic expansion of individual rights.

*The Enigma of Felix Frankfurter* attempts a full-scale analysis of this outsize paradox of a man. Author H.N. Hirsch, a Harvard government professor, is to be congratulated on his audacity as well as his scholarship. Psychobiography is a risky undertaking; putting a Supreme Court Justice on the couch is downright breathtaking.

Frankfurter fancied himself an expert at "personalia," his word for charming, persuading and manipulating others. As a Harvard law professor in the '30s, he inaugurated the Cambridge-to-Washington shuttle, becoming one of the first of a long line of academics to serve as White House sages. While he personally stroked F.D.R.'s liberalism, he dispatched his best and brightest students, his "happy hot dogs," like Tommy ("the Cork") Corco-

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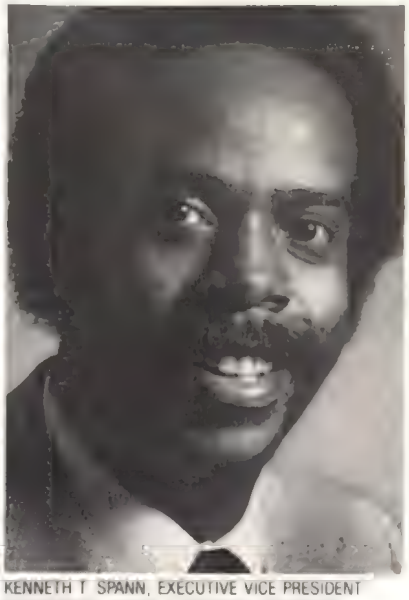

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# Books

ran, Dean Acheson and Alger Hiss, to mold the New Deal bureaucracy.

When F.D.R. rewarded him with a seat on the Supreme Court in 1939, Frankfurter continued to play the role of public pedant. He treated the high court's conference room like his old Harvard Law School classroom, and his colleagues as mere pupils. He flattered and chided them, picked favorites and virtually graded their judicial opinions.

Strong-minded Justices like Hugo Black and William O. Douglas were not inclined to become Frankfurter's happy hot dogs. In Frankfurter's first year on the court, Black and Douglas went along with a Frankfurter opinion that allowed public schools to require a morning "flag salute," even if salutations violated the religious principles of some schoolchildren. But four years later, they reversed their decision. Frankfurter was furious. "One

**Felix Frankfurter**

*Putting Justice on the couch*

who belongs to the most vilified and persecuted minority in history is not likely to be insensible to the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution," he began his emotional dissent. Even so, Frankfurter scolded, a Justice's "duty" is to submerge his personal views while passing judgment. But fellow Justices perceived another obligation: to protect certain individual rights, like free speech and due process, from the dominance of the majority. Frankfurter, once the great civil libertarian, resisted the court's activism for the rest of his career.

Why? Hirsch looks beyond Frankfurter's jurisprudence to his shaky psyche. An immigrant Jew in a Brahmin's world, the Justice never felt truly secure, even in success. To compensate for this, he built an "idealized self-image" that could not tolerate sustained opposition. "Betrayed" by Black and Douglas, piqued even more by their ability to win over others on the court to their views, Frankfurter became rigid and obsessed. By night he wrote invectives against his judicial enemies (Black is "part fanatic, part demagogue," Douglas "shamelessly immoral"); by day he sounded an increasingly shrill note on the virtues of "judicial self-restraint" as exemplified by Felix Frankfurter. In his self-righteous rage he lost the thread of history.

Frankfurter's last significant vote was against the court's landmark one-man, one-vote decision in 1962 (on the grounds that social change should not come through the courts). It was a sad valedictory, but by then Frankfurter was old and ill, preoccupied with inducing biographical scholars to write his version of the past. Hirsch has written another version, less flattering but far more acute, about the workings of the lawgivers, and, more significantly, the law itself. —*By Evan Thomas*

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** God Emperor of Dune, *Frank Herbert* • The Meeting at Telgte *Günter Grass* • The Men's Club, *Leonard Michaels* • Original Sins, *Lisa Alther* • The Testament, *Elie Wiesel* • The White Hotel, *D.M. Thomas* • Zuckerman Unbound *Philip Roth*

**NONFICTION:** The Audubon Society Encyclopedia of North American Birds, *John K. Terres* • Ernest Hemingway, Selected Letters, 1917-1961, *edited by Carlos Baker* • Grant *William S. McFeely* • A Life in Our Times, *John Kenneth Galbraith* • Naked at the Feast, *Lynn Hane* • Nam, *Mark Baker* • Twelve Years *Joel Agee*

## Best Sellers

**FICTION**

1. Noble House, *Clavell (1 last week)*
2. God Emperor of Dune, *Herbert (3)*
3. Free Fall in Crimson, *MacDonald (2)*
4. Gorky Park, *Smith (6)*
5. Masquerade, *Williams (4)*
6. The Covenant, *Michener (5)*
7. Tar Baby, *Morrison (7)*
8. License Renewed, *Gardner (10)*
9. XPD, *Deighton (9)*
10. Creation, *Vidal (8)*

**NONFICTION**

1. The Lord God Made Them All *Herriot (2)*
2. Richard Simmons' Never-Say-Diet Book, *Simmons (1)*
3. The Beverly Hills Diet, *Mazel*
4. The Eagle's Gift, *Castaneda (4)*
5. Cosmos, *Sagan (3)*
6. Molloy's Live for Success, *Molloy (7)*
7. Nothing Down, *Allen*
8. You Can Negotiate Anything, *Cohen (10)*
9. Nice Girls Do, *Kassorla (6)*
10. Survive and Win in the Inflationary Eighties, *Ruff*

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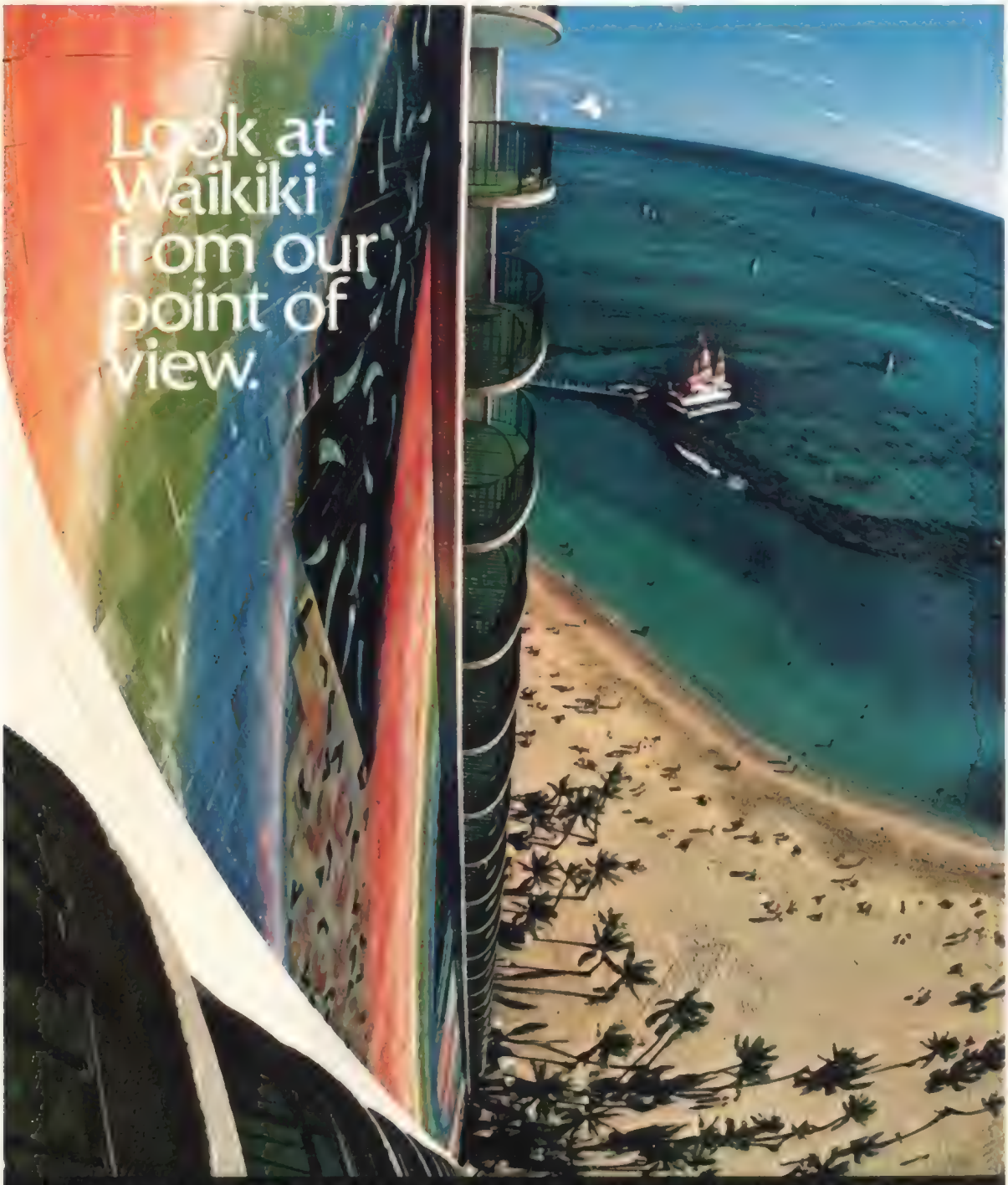


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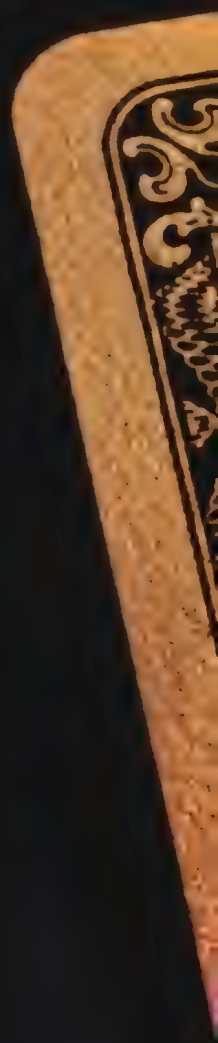

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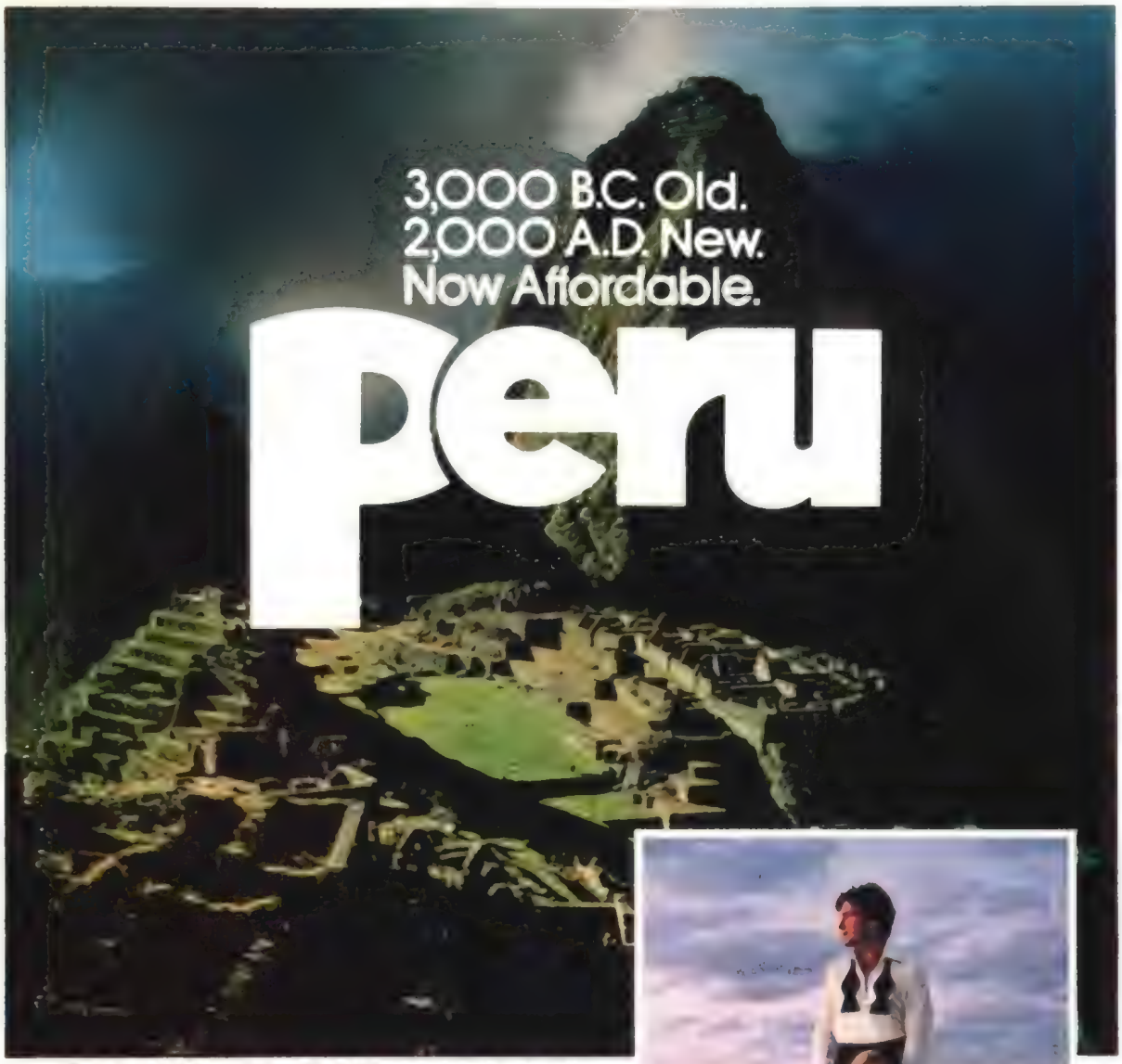
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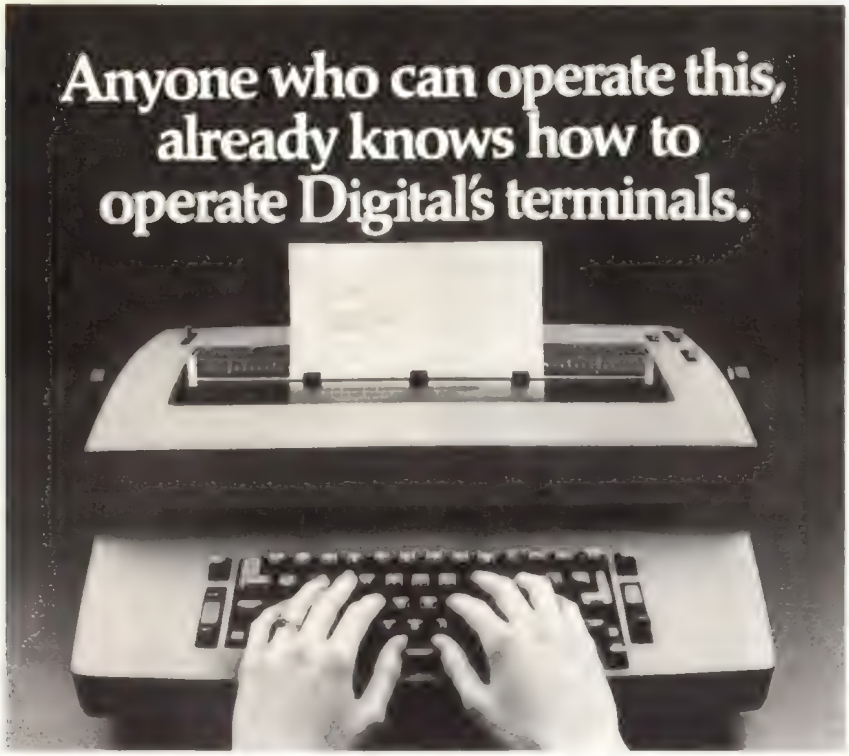

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# Two Upstarts *vs.* the Big Three

*Satellite technology spurs the growth of pioneering TV networks*

Even the visionaries on Manhattan's Broadcasting Row slept soundly that autumn night in 1957 when the space age was born with the launching of Sputnik I. In those days CBS and NBC owned the U.S. television audience, with tiny ABC, known then as "the Almost Broadcasting Company," struggling to catch up. In the years that followed ABC closed the gap, but it is not simply a three-way rivalry any more. Proliferating communications satellites—the progeny of Sputnik—now offer an alternative method of linking up new networks, cheaper and more flexible than the long-distance telephone lines through which the Big Three send most of their signals.

One year ago this week, Media Maverick Ted Turner launched his Atlanta-based Cable News Network, a pioneering 24-hour, all-news channel that feeds cable systems nationwide via satellite. A few days later, local station WPIX-TV in New York City started Independent Network News, using a satellite to bounce a daily prime-time national news show to local stations across the country. Says INN News Director John Corporon: "The bird has changed all the rules so that the independents can play in the game." Indeed, industry experts say that CNN and, to a lesser extent, INN, are largely responsible for the unprecedented 4% decline in Big Three news audiences during the past year.

Recalls CNN President Reese Schonfeld, 49: "When we started up and I saw that it could work, there were tears in my eyes." If Schonfeld could have predicted his balance sheet, those might have been tears of sorrow. Starting with a scant potential audience of 1.7 million and a paper-thin $25 million annual budget,* CNN soon faced operating costs close to $3 million per month during the heat of an election summer. News Director George Watson, the former head of ABC's Washington bureau, quit in frustration after two months of broadcasting; others followed. Most threatening of all, RCA (parent company of NBC) tried to prevent CNN from using its Satcom I satellite. But Turner beat RCA in court, and after absorbing losses of more than $20 million in the first year, his network now encompasses cable systems reaching 6.3 million homes, and is growing fast. Says he: "In one week we added 58 cable systems."

Primarily a headline service, CNN can be quick and resourceful when the news is hot, tends to flag when it is not, and is often plagued by technical glitches. Nevertheless, network hot dogs who used to call it "Chicken Noodle News" are beginning to feel the heat: Turner is currently suing the Reagan Administration and the three networks for denying his news teams full participation in pool coverage. ABC learned to its horror last month that it may not be able to transmit live news coverage from London of Prince Charles' July wedding. Reason: CNN, along with CBS and NBC, booked the available satellite time before ABC got there.

**Turner with model of satellite receiver**

*At the start-up there were tears in the eyes.*

Besides its regular news team, CNN brings in special contributors, ranging from Barry Goldwater and Phyllis Schlafly to Hamilton Jordan and Bella Abzug. Its burgeoning audience seems willing to bear with the rough edges, and positively seems to relish the down-home feeling of such featured staffers as Weatherman Flip Spiceland, House Veterinarian Herb Tanzer and Mike the auto mechanic. Best of all, claims Turner, the network should be profitable by year's end.

INN's record is already being written in black. At 6 o'clock every evening, while Dan Rather, Frank Reynolds and John Chancellor are preparing their evening newscasts in Washington and New York studios, INN's Bill Jorgensen is banging out his own newscast on a worn black typewriter in the crowded WPIX newsroom in midtown Manhattan. A few hours after some 40 million viewers have seen the three networks' news programs, an estimated 3 million more in 51 cities watch the show anchored by Jorgensen, Pat Harper and Steve Bosh. The result is a revolution in local news markets.

Carried by Westar II, INN's feed provides the kind of national and international coverage few local stations could produce themselves, and at a bargain price: it is free. In exchange for the right to sell three minutes of national advertising, INN provides the show on a barter basis to affiliates, which can sell three minutes of local ads. Says Corporon: "Everybody makes money. And a national news show adds to a local station's prestige, so a little station tends to grow."

Some Big Three network executives charged with keeping their affiliates in line have been disappointed to see a handful carrying INN's news along with the uptown variety. That trend is likely to continue as the profitable little network branches out: next October INN will add a half-hour midday news show. Within a few years, says Corporon, "we could have five or six programs on the air." For the moment, however, INN's greatest contribution is to knee-high stations like KGSW in Albuquerque, N. Mex. Says General Manager Erick Steffens: "Before, if a Mount St. Helens erupted, or there was an earthquake in Italy, we'd have to put up a slide and try to describe it. Now we don't have to be ashamed." —*By Janice Castro. Reported by Mary Cronin/New York and Joyce Leviton/Atlanta*

**INN Anchors Bill Jorgensen . . .**

**Pat Harper . . .**

**and Steve Bosh**

*ABC, CBS and NBC each spend upwards of $100 million a year for news operations

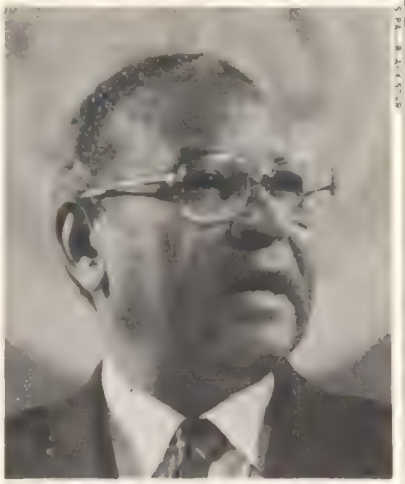
# Confrontation at Talloires

*Western newsmen mount an angry challenge to UNESCO curbs*

Tucked picturesquely into the western slopes of the Alps, the lakeside resort of Talloires, France, features three-star gastronomy and a timeless mountain calm. But the distinguished assembly that gathered there last week had no interest in sight-seeing, and lost little time in shattering the Alpine quiet by speaking up loudly in defense of world press freedom.

The delegates were representatives of 60 print and broadcast organizations from 24 countries, including the four major international wire services (A.P., U.P.I., Reuters and Agence France Presse). They were drawn together by their common opposition to the restrictive aspects of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's proposals to regulate the world's press through a plan called the New World Information Order. By the time they ended their two-day session, the conferees had issued a toughly worded Declaration of Talloires. While pledging "cooperation in all genuine efforts to expand the free flow of information," they promised "concerted action" to uphold the "basic human right" of press freedom and called on UNESCO "to abandon attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for the press."

The Talloires meeting, sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, an international watchdog group, was a direct response to UNESCO's Belgrade conference last October. There UNESCO's 152 member states (now 155) adopted the MacBride Report. That document, which evolved from a three-year global communications study by a panel of experts under former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride, sought to redress Soviet bloc and Third World complaints of "cultural aggression" on the part of the Western-dominated press by empowering UNESCO to "balance" the international flow of information. Among the MacBride proposals: standards for news content, new codes of press ethics calling for a definition of the role of the press and measures to "protect" journalists (a euphemism for licensing them). Delegates from Western nations saw these measures as attempts by Soviet bloc and Third World nations to discourage the press from reporting embarrassing or detrimental information.



**Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow**

*A "balanced" flow of news, or a muzzle?*

When the measures were adopted despite their concerns, Western press representatives decided to take up the fight themselves.

The battle at Talloires developed into such an explosive confrontation between delegates and their guest speaker, UNESCO Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, that his interpreter was unable to keep up with the angry exchanges. UNESCO's press curbs, said Cushrow Irani, chairman of the International Press Institute and publisher of *The Statesman* of Calcutta, would "transform the press into an instrument of governments." British Journalist and Author Rosemary Righter *(Whose News?)* reminded the director-general that he had once said the press should be responsible "for promoting cohesion and integration" in Third World nations. M'Bow, a Senegalese educator, heatedly denied that he intended to muzzle the press, but argued that he was dutybound to push ahead with the plan voted upon by UNESCO's member nations.

The Talloires conferees made it clear that they felt no such obligation. Nor, some members suggested, should Western governments have any part of such a restrictive program. Washington *Star* Editor Murray Gart urged members "to withdraw support of and representation in UNESCO" if the agency continues with its plans to shackle the world press. Gart's proposal was defeated, but the point was made: UNESCO receives more than 50% of its three-year budget from Western nations, a full 25%—or $156 million—from the U.S. alone.

The majority of the Talloires conferees, however, agreed with Los Angeles *Times* Editorial Pages Editor Anthony Day, who said when the meeting was over, "The West does better to stay in for now and fight. It just has got to be tougher." ■

# Milestones

**BORN.** To **James Dickey,** 58, Southern poet and novelist *(Deliverance),* and his wife **Deborah,** 29, a girl, her first child, his third; in Columbia, S.C.; weight 5 lbs. 5 oz. Name: Bronwen Elaine.

**DIED. James Rausch,** 52, bishop of the diocese of Phoenix who, as general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops from 1973 to 1977, became a leading spokesman for liberal factions and helped propose such progressive resolutions as calls for a married priesthood and the ordination of women; of a heart attack; in Phoenix.

**DIED. William Saroyan,** 72, prolific Armenian-American novelist, playwright and short story writer who strove to convey the romance and vitality of American life in such works as the 1939 Pulitzer-prizewinning play, *The Time of Your Life,* and the 1943 novel, *The Human Comedy;* of cancer; in Fresno, Calif. (*see* THEATER).

**DIED. Ross Allen,** 73, noted herpetologist who in 1929 founded Ross Allen's Reptile Institute, a research center at Silver Springs, Fla., and who survived eleven bites from the lethal likes of rattlesnakes, copperheads and cottonmouth snakes; of cancer; in Gainesville, Fla. A stand-in for Johnny Weissmuller in the Tarzan movies of the 1930s and '40s, Allen was in the final stages of building a million-dollar tourist attraction called Alligator Town, scheduled to open this summer near Lake City, Fla.

**DIED. Arthur O'Connell,** 73, veteran character actor twice nominated for Academy Awards for best supporting actor, for his role as Rosalind Russell's reluctant suitor in *Picnic* (1956) and for his portrayal of Jimmy Stewart's law partner in *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959); of Alzheimer's disease; in Los Angeles.

**DIED. Jeannette Piccard,** 86, pioneering balloonist who, along with her late husband Swiss Scientist Jean Piccard, became the first woman to probe the stratosphere in a balloon flight over Lake Erie in 1934, and who 40 years later became one of the first American women to be ordained an Episcopal priest; of cancer; in Minneapolis.

**DIED. Harry Vaughan,** 87, retired Army major general who as military aide and loyal adviser to President Harry Truman from 1945 to 1953 embroiled his boss in a number of embarrassing controversies, among them receiving seven deep freezers from lobbyists in 1945 and three years later for accepting a medal from Argentina's Juan Perón; of a heart attack; at Fort Belvoir, Va.

# 11:23 P.M.

MONTE CARLO. The casino hopes you never grace their tables again. The restaurant was only too pleased to greet you to theirs. Now, it's coffee laced with Grand Marnier, sipped through cream. Sometimes you win. And sometimes you win.

*What time today will you say "Grand Marnier"?*

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# "It's not really a sports car."

American Honda Motor Co., Inc.

# "Oh, yes it is."

Motor Trend's *Sports Car Graphic* Oct./Nov. 1980

We're not being humble. It's just that our Honda Civic GL Hatchback wasn't designed to be a sports car.

But then, who are we to question the test results of Motor Trend's *Sports Car Graphic* magazine?

SOME SIMPLE ENGINEERING FACTS.

We admit, the Civic GL does have the basic performance features of your "true" sports car.

Including sophisticated four-wheel independent suspension, rack and pinion steering, steel-belted radial tires and a 5-speed manual transmission.

True to the nature of Hondas, it also has front-wheel drive and a transverse-mounted 1500 CVCC® engine.

Together, they add a very comfortable advantage. Extra legroom.

FUN FOLLOWS FUNCTION.

We've also allowed room for extra people. Four adults fit comfortably in our plush, fully carpeted interior. And there's plenty of cargo space in the hatch.

Yet outside, this Civic's compact size simplifies city driving.

In the words of one judge, "You can dart in and out of traffic like an urban guerilla, pick up the kids, load up with the week's groceries, and cruise home without spilling a thing."

Still another function of our sportiest Civic is fun. The same judge adds, "A sports car is a car to have fun with, and I'd have fun with the Honda."

THRILLING GAS MILEAGE.

To quote the article, our Civic GL "quickly endeared itself" in mileage tests. Or to quote the EPA, it gets an estimated 34 miles per gallon, 44 miles highway.

Use 34 mpg for comparison. Mileage may vary because of weather, speed or trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be less, and California figures will be lower.

But in any case, you can also figure on getting the kind of outstanding gas mileage you've come to expect from Honda.

EXTRA SPORTY TOUCHES.

The magazine put in a good word for the quality and design of our instrumentation: "Excellent."

A tachometer, quartz digital clock, trip odometer, rear window defroster and washer/wiper all come standard. As well as the inside hatch and hood releases.

In fact, according to *Sports Car Graphic*, the Civic GL may be setting new standards for today's sports cars.

It's a performance car. A functional car. An economy car. And a fun car, too.

We simply call it a Honda.

HONDA

We make it simple.

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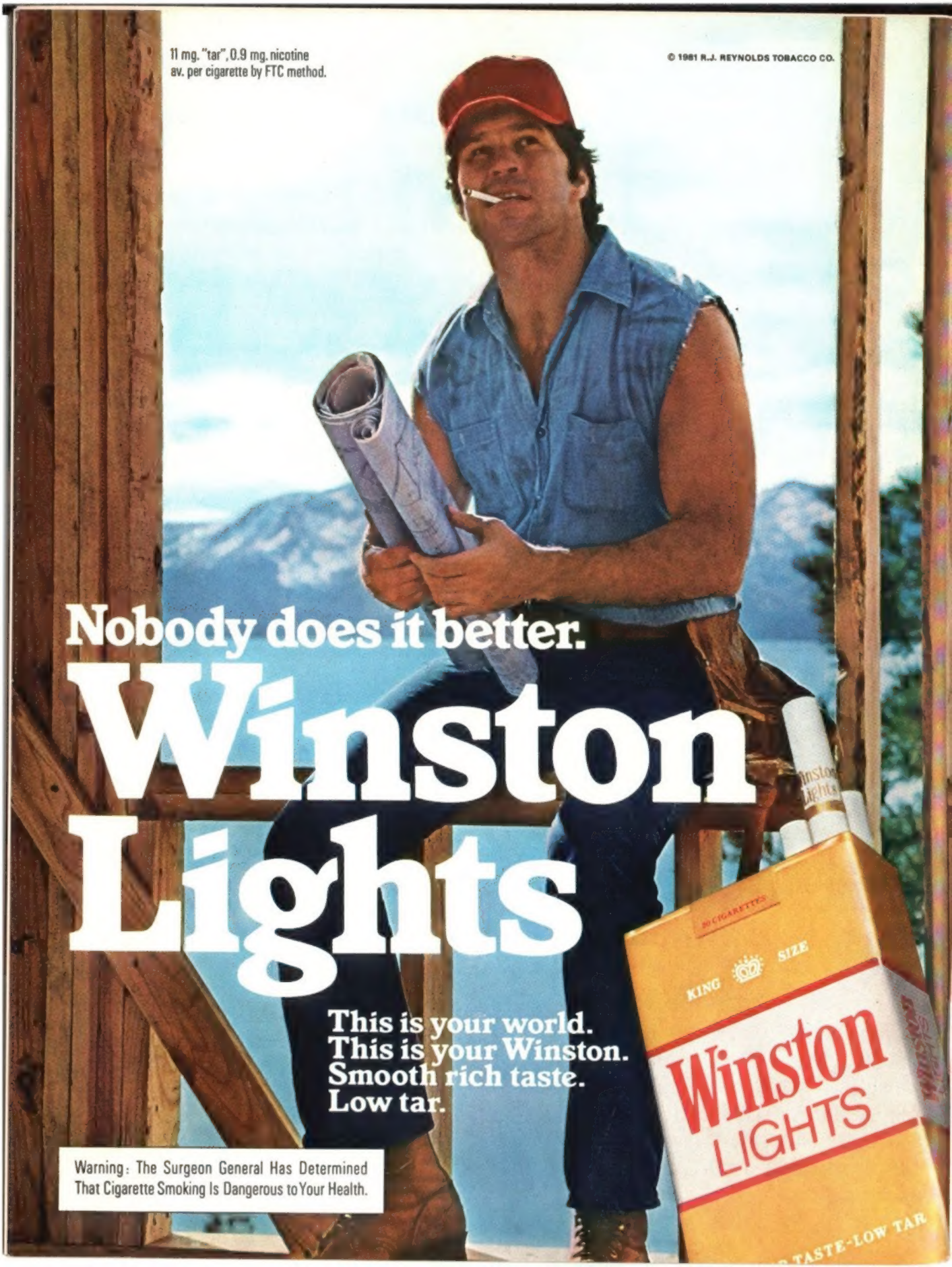
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